

PEACE NEWS

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SUEZ: THE 2nd WEEK AT UN Bargaining behind the scenes

By ROY SHERWOOD

LAST week's lull in the Suez affair was more apparent than real. The London Canal Users Association conference came to an end with the incomplete result of a six-nation membership of the proposed seven-nation Executive Council because some of the countries which had taken part in the meetings wanted more time to think about the whole set-up and the implications of Council membership.

With the seventh seat still vacant, the Council consists at present of France, Britain, Norway, Iran, Italy and the United States. Pakistan, Japan and Ethiopia seem lacking in enthusiasm. There is also a good deal of vagueness about the scope of the proposed Council's functions and authority.

The focus of interest has in the meantime moved to Washington and New York, and Mr. Foster Dulles has provided the great debating point: Where precisely stand the United States?

After having stated that certain differences of view existed between the "Big Three," he subsequently corrected the script (an unprecedented step!) of what he had said in his press conference, to read that differences had existed, the obvious intention being to convey that they existed no longer.

This may well be so, but it is also certain that the new state of full agreement between France, Britain and the United States has little depth.

CLOSED SESSIONS

Nasser, King Hussein back PLAN TO UNITE ARAB STATES

Exclusive to PEACE NEWS

From BRIJEN K. GUPTA

I HAVE just spent over two months talking to the leaders of the centre and the left in the Arab countries: Chaderjey and Sammaryi in Iraq, Mejdalany and Maksoud in Lebanon, Nebulssy and Chouqair in Jordan, Afflak, Hourani and Bitar in Syria. In my conversations with them they have candidly told me that a union of Syria with Egypt is a matter of only a few months, and that Jordan would follow suit soon, in spite of the British intrigues at the Palace in Amman.

The same opinion was expressed to me by the boss of the Arab Communist Party, Khaled Bakdache, who is a member of the Syrian Chamber of Deputies, and directs a powerful underground movement in Iraq.

The recent Suez crisis has eclipsed all other news from the Middle East. One event that should have made headlines, and which has received very little attention is that the Arab Union Constitution Drafting Committee has completed the draft constitution of the proposed Arab Federation.

Arab nationalism inflamed by the Suez crisis is most likely to hasten the unification of the Arab States into a federation.

Urgent consultations are taking place between Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt for a customs union, common currency, and removal of passport restrictions for travel. Already a great measure of unity has been achieved on the matters pertaining to defence, and foreign affairs.

All these steps point to a rapid development of the idea of unification.

First publication

The Constitution Drafting Committee was appointed by the Arab Graduates Association, a leading intellectual organisation of the Middle East, with headquarters in Lebanon, and was composed of the leading constitutional experts of the Middle East, among them being Dr. Edmund Babbitt of Princeton

foreign domination." For almost half a century now the leaders of Arab nationalism have been trying to spread this message, and day by day more and more people have begun to hear it.

Whether it be the elegant hotels of Beirut or Cairo, the streets of Damascus or Baghdad, the tea houses of Amman or Basra, what is most noticeable these days is the inflamed Arab nationalism seeking a union of all the existing Arab states.

Impetus from Syria

Leaders from the extreme left to the extreme right, with a few exceptions in the centre, seem to be convinced that an Arab unity is in the offing, and that the appointment with history of the united Arab nation is at hand.

Minds may differ, just as the political atmospheres differ in the Middle East, as to how this unity is to be achieved, what have to be its evolutionary stages, whether it has to be a federation or a unitary state, but there is an almost universal agreement that the time is ripe for unity under one God and under one constitution.

The Nuri-es-Said Pasha formula for Arab unity, which had the blessings of Whitehall, for in effect it provided for disunity, seems to have been decisively rejected. Nuri wanted

WHO'S WHO In Arab Union

A guide to personalities in
this report

Nuri-es-Said Pasha: Prime Minister of Iraq, a dictator, who has banned all political parties and rules with the assistance of the secret police. The London Times calls his regime the "most stable and progressive" in the Middle East.

Salah Bitar: Foreign Minister of Syria, and one of the "Big Three" of the Bath Socialist Party of Syria. A former school teacher.

Michael Afflak: Secretary General of the Bath Socialist Party, former Professor at the Syrian University in Damascus, party theoretician.

Akram Hourani: the "strong man" of the Bath Socialist Party, has a personal following

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Only innocents will regret this. To begin with, it makes give-and-take easier because the abandonment of a firmly announced viewpoint or declaration does not have to take place in public performance; and by the time the decision arrived at has to be published, diplomatic skill can have smothered it in verbiage well calculated to minimise anything unpleasant.

Secondly, even when the discussions are public, a great deal of bargaining always goes on behind the scenes. On most occasions this is downright bad, but it can also be beneficial. It is certainly so on this occasion.

Only those who are silly enough to take official announcements literally can fail to see that American influence is exerting itself heavily in favour of reasonable negotiation, and that Mr. Dulles does not share the French and British wish to turn the Canal issue into a means of bringing the whole Nasser regime to an end in Egypt.

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The Committee, though unofficial, has received strong support from official quarters, including President Nasser and King Hussein of Jordan. Both are reported to have expressed strong sympathy with the principles of the Draft Constitution.

The constitution is now receiving the attention of the Egyptian government's constitutional experts, as the draft constitution is reported to be the basis of negotiations for unity between Syria and Egypt. This draft constitution is reproduced in full for the first time in any publication on page five.

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It was obvious to any political scientist that this proposal meant the domination of Iraq over the Fertile Crescent, and of the Fertile Crescent, with its vast economic resources, over the other three federations. Arab liberals and radicals have come to the conclusion that what is needed is a single federation embracing one by one all the Arab States and not different Arab federations.

The greatest impetus to Arab unity comes not from Egypt, as is wrongly reported from

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4,000 pledge defence of Welsh valley

By Gene Sharp

FOUR thousand Welshmen from all parts of Wales rallied at Bala, Wales, on September 29 to pledge themselves to defend the Tryweryn Valley. The Liverpool Corporation has selected the Welsh valley as the site for a water reservoir.

The proposed arbitrary seizure of the valley, the site, one of a community rich in Welsh culture has aroused strong opposition in Wales, both among nationalists and non-nationalists.

The rally at Bala heard Dr. Iorwerth Peate, Keeper of the Welsh Folk Museum at St. Fagan, Cardiff, declare that "The Welshness of Wales today is in such dire peril that we cannot afford to lose one further portion of it."

He recalled the destruction of a Welsh-speaking community in Epynt in 1940 by the action of the War Office.

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the Trade Unions.

Kamil Chederjey : Chairman of the National Democratic Congress, principal opposition party in Iraq (underground); a former cabinet minister.

Hussein Jamil : Dean of the Baghdad Bar Association; Secretary of the National Democratic Congress in Iraq.

Faik Sammaryi : Secretary General of the National Democratic Congress; Lawyer; member of the Arab Union Constitution Drafting Committee.

Clovis Maksoud : a former student of G. D. H. Cole at Oxford; Lebanese Socialist who has recently resigned from the Progressive Socialist Party.

Kemal Joumblatt : Leader of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon; also religious leader of the Druz Community; one of Lebanon's most powerful persons, and a serious political thinker.

Gibran Mejdalany : until recently in charge of the Foreign Affairs section of the Progressive Socialist Party, has recently resigned from the Party.

Suleiman Nebulssy : Secretary General of the National Socialist Party of Jordan; a former Jordanian Ambassador to London.

Abdullah Nawas and Abdullah Rimawi : Leaders of the Bath Socialist Party in Jordan.

Speaker of the Syrian Parliament.

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The rally at Bala heard Dr. Iorwerth Peate, Keeper of the Welsh Folk Museum at St. Fagan, Cardiff, declare that "The Welshness of Wales today is in such dire peril that we cannot afford to lose one further portion of it."

He recalled the destruction of a Welsh-speaking community in Epynt in 1940 by the action of the War Office.

It was essential, The Welsh Nation reported him as saying, that Liverpool's plan to drown Tryweryn should be stopped, or the very soul of the nation would be torn away from it.

"To protest is not enough. The scheme must be stopped," he declared amid loud cheers.

Mr. Alwyn Roberts described the present situation in which the decision rests with the Liverpool City Council which is not responsible to the people of the area affected, and which has refused to give the Welsh a hearing before the full council as "a state . . . perilously near to tyranny."

Every person in the packed pavilion rose to his feet when the Chairman of the rally, Mr. R. E. Jones, put the motion that "this meeting pledges its support to all efforts made to retain Cwm Tryweryn and the water resources of the neighbourhood for Wales, and calls on the Liverpool Corporation to withdraw its plans to possess and exploit them . . ."

MESSAGE FROM DE VALERA

Messages of support came from prominent Welshmen not ordinarily active in politics: Dr. Thomas Parry, National Librarian of Wales; Sir Ifan ab Owen Edwards, founder of the Welsh League of Youth; Dyfnallt, former Archdruid of Wales; Rev. William Morris, present Archdruid of Wales.

Among messages from outside Wales was that from Dr. Eamon De Valera, former Prime Minister of Eire. Writing from the Dail in Dublin, Dr. De Valera wrote:

"When against terrific odds a small nation is seeking to preserve its personality and culture the destruction of any area where the language and national characteristics have been traditionally preserved would be a misfortune which every effort should be made to avoid.

"Material economic advantages are far too dearly bought when secured at the loss of an inspiring spiritual inheritance and some modern efficiency enthusiasts need to have this fact forcibly impressed upon them."

"When alternatives which do not involve such a loss are available, all who believe that man has needs other than those of the body will sympathise

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Part of the large procession of Welshmen at Bala protesting the proposed seizure of the Tryweryn Valley.
Photo courtesy The Welsh Nation

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A NEW COLONIAL POLICY

THE declaration on colonial policy that was endorsed by the Labour Party Conference at Blackpool is greatly to be welcomed. A number of guiding principles were laid down for the courses to be pursued to realise the ultimate objective. But the most important aspect of the statement is the unequivocal declaration of what that objective is to be.

It is to be "full democracy" through a universal adult franchise on the principle of "one person, one vote" the voting to be on the basis of a common electoral roll.

On the way to the realisation of the objective it is proposed that the franchise shall be on the basis of communal electoral rolls, and here although there could be parity in voting qualifications, the votes would have different values because the different racial communities would be represented, not in accordance with their numerical strength, but on the basis of racial partnership.

This electoral conception is, of course, very far from what we mean by democracy, but it may be a reasonable procedure towards the attainment of the desired end if it carries the goodwill of most of the population concerned.

We believe that this goodwill can be achieved if precise and unqualified pledges are given concerning the length of the period allocated for the reaching of the full objective —when the native populations will be in a situation to control the conditions of their own lives.

★ ★

WE hold this to be a point of supreme importance. The colonial peoples are exceedingly sceptical in regard to generalised declarations of good intentions, and they have every reason to be so. They have had many such declarations before, from Conservative, Liberal, and also from Labour Governments, and they know from experience that if the fulfilment of the promises conveyed in such declarations is to be left to an unstated future, there is likely to be an indefinite postponement.

We hold, therefore, that an essential aspect of a sound policy in the colonial field should be the fixing of a period by agreement with the leaders of the native populations of the various territories concerned during which there shall be applied the interim policy of communal electoral rolls with the consequent inequality in the basis of representation.

The transition period need not be the same for each territory, and we believe that the native populations will

AS we write, the Poznan trials are nearing their end. Some very horrifying and some very moving stories have been recounted, revealing some very significant aspects of the Polish regime.

It is too early to say what will be the outcome, and whether the trials will contribute to the replacement of totalitarian oligarchy by the development of more liberal and democratic standards of government.

There has been, however, one aspect of the trial that seems to us to have great importance. In a speech in defence of one of the men under charge, his advocate, Mr. Kujanek, made a very eloquent plea, in the course of which he said :

"History has known numerous risings to which it has given different names. The period of 1830 also had its origin in a popular rising. What name will history give to the events of Poznan? It is still too soon to say."

The victims of the events of Poznan can be divided into two groups : those who were buried with all the honours as heroes, saluted by the high personages of the State; and the others, who were buried quietly without any discourse and without any mention of their tragedy."

Mr. Kujanek then appealed to the judges : "Before you sign the sentences think that in some years you may be ashamed of having signed them."

Horror and hope

THE Polish daily, *Glos Wielkopolski*, published the account of this speech that was issued to it by the Polish official news agency. This omitted much of what was said by Mr. Kujanek, including the passage we have quoted above. *Glos Wielkopolski* introduced the report, however, by the following comment :

"We publish the text of the defence speech according to the version of PAP (the official agency). This signifies that there is at this moment sufficient liberty in Poland for an advocate to be

Well, it is possible that it did in so far as it gave Mr. Bevan the Party Treasurership, but it has to be faced that the operation of the trade union vote destroys any claim that the Labour Party may have as a democratic instrument—and not primarily by reason of its "block" character.

On the question of who was to be voted for as the Party Treasurer it is probable that the Executive of most

to have been ready to fall in with the Government's desires, with the notable exception of the Manchester Guardian which was able to perceive the danger in the process although it could not have been fully aware of the lack of scruple involved.

We refer to this last point, for, as Peace News has good reason to know, the Government was quite capable of taking the opposite line and blaming the Press for irresponsible clamour when it suited its book.

Poznan trials The Press Labour Party Germany

of the trade unions were consulted—the Executives, be it noted, not the membership.

It is only on a very small minority of issues, however, that there is any consultation, even of the Executives, of the unions.

So far as the representative annual conferences of the unions are concerned—where these are sufficiently democratic to hold annual conferences—there is hardly ever any consultation at all as to the way the delegations from the unions are to cast their votes on most of the important issues that arise.

This, incidentally, applies not only to the Labour Party Conference but also to the Trades Union Congress.

The TUC decisions therefore represent the views of the caucus of trade union leaders ; the Labour Party Conference decisions represent the views of the caucus of trade union leaders, modified by the minority vote of the constituency Parties—in which, of course, there has generally been proper democratic consultation.

These caucus decisions may sometimes coincide with the views of the movement as a whole.

Where this happens it is a happy accident and is not related to the effective working of democratic machinery, because machinery of democratic consultation and decision

Adenauer in trouble

WHAT amounts to a public rebuke to Dr. Adenauer has been given by the resignation of the four Free People's Party members from his coalition cabinet.

The immediate cause of the resignation was the belief that the Chancellor was proposing to sacrifice the Free Peoples Party in order to win back the Free Democratic Party who left the Government in the Spring.

Dr. Adenauer has thus lost the Federal Vice-Chancellor, his Minister of Justice and, more important, his Minister of Housing, whose efficiency has never been more needed because the housing programme is running into serious difficulties.

The leaders of the Free Democratic Party have met East German politicians at Weimar in an attempt to work out a joint plan for reunification. The possibility of reducing the armed forces and armaments programmes in both parts of Germany was also discussed.

Although this meeting is going to cause a controversy in Germany, the Free Democratic Party believes that a majority of the German people would be glad to contract out of an alliance with the West and that with a reunification policy it can beat Dr. Adenauer at the next elections.

Numbered days

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We believe that this goodwill can be achieved if precise and unqualified pledges are given concerning the length of the period allocated for the reaching of the full objective—when the native populations will be in a situation to control the conditions of their own lives.

WE hold this to be a point of supreme importance.

The colonial peoples are exceedingly sceptical in regard to generalised declarations of good intentions, and they have every reason to be so. They have had many such declarations before, from Conservative, Liberal, and also from Labour Governments, and they know from experience that if the fulfilment of the promises conveyed in such declarations is to be left to an unstated future, there is likely to be an indefinite postponement.

We hold, therefore, that an essential aspect of a sound policy in the colonial field should be the fixing of a period by agreement with the leaders of the native populations of the various territories concerned during which there shall be applied the interim policy of communal electoral rolls with the consequent inequality in the basis of representation.

The transition period need not be the same for each territory, and we believe that the native populations will be able and ready to look at this matter quite realistically when once they are given firm and reliable assurances that they are moving towards their freedom within an agreed period, after which, without any qualification at all, there will be a withdrawal of imposed rule by the British.

IT is only in such conditions that the term "racial partnership" has real significance. If the unequal partnership is directed through the extension of educational measures and the provision of the necessary experience in administration and government—and particularly if Britain regards this as providing a first claim on its "help for the underdeveloped countries"—to the provision of the conditions for democratic self-government, then it will be seen to be a genuine racial partnership; otherwise the term merely becomes a euphemism for white domination.

We hope that there will be a further Labour Party statement which will amplify and clarify the policy along these lines; and we hope also that this will be done before Labour has a further opportunity to take office.

There is a further comment we must make that has even greater importance in the long run. This policy of democratic self-government for peoples now under alien domination can only be realised to the extent to which the over-riding policy of Labour is directed to its disengagement in the world power struggle.

While the struggle continues and Labour accepts a military integration in the formidable treaty construction of the Western power bloc all its good intentions in the colonial sphere will be constantly at the mercy of its struggle to continue to operate as a "great power."

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"We publish the text of the defence speech according to the version of PAP (the official agency). This signifies that there is at this moment sufficient liberty in Poland for an advocate to be able to say what he believes to be necessary in the interest of his client, but that there is still not sufficient to permit that his speech shall be published without preliminary censorship."

We may add to the comment of *Glos Wielkopolski*, however—and there is great promise in the fact that we are able to do so—that there is now sufficient liberty in Poland for a newspaper to have felt that it could dare to make this comment.

We cannot, of course, measure the degree of courage that may have been required in its Editor for this comment to be published, but it is in great contrast with what he would have felt able to do when Stalinism ruled; and there is a world of difference between what this indicates and the conditions in which the monstrous Russian "purge" trials of the 1930s were conducted.

There is horror in the Poznan trials, but there is also reason for hope.

The block vote

WITH a touch of humorous malice, a journalist at Blackpool asked Mr. Bevan what were his views on the block vote now. Mr. Bevan diverted the sting in the question by remarking that the block vote might now better reflect the views of the rank and file than it did some time ago.

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It is only on a very small minority of issues, however, that there is any consultation, even of the Executives, of the unions.

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Where this happens it is a happy accident and is not related to the effective working of democratic machinery, because machinery of democratic consultation and decision is non-existent.

The Press and Suez

IN the New Statesmen last week,

Mr. Francis Williams gave a very disturbing account of the steps taken by the Government to manipulate the Press during the development of the Suez crisis.

The Press were given the line the Government desired them to take in confidential briefings, and it was the evident desire of the Government that the warlike preparations—the troop movements, the despatch of aircraft carriers, etc.—that it was making should be played up to the full to assist in a war of nerves.

Generally speaking, the Press seems

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Numbered days

WITH only two partners now left to him, Dr. Adenauer may decide to force the issue by calling for a general election in the Spring.

There are rumours that he has been disappointed at the attitude of the American Government since his visit to Washington and feels that they have let him down.

Whether because of this or as a last attempt to win the next elections, it is even suggested that he may propose the development of a Third (armed) Force centring around Western Germany as a means of holding the balance between America and Russia.

It may well be that his days as Chancellor are numbered and that the whole question of the West German contribution to NATO, including conscription, may once more be in the melting pot as proposals for reunification become the major issue.

From the Editor's Notebook

Disturbance in Washington

IN 1939 John Foster Dulles wrote in "War, Peace and Change":

"In order to bring a nation to support the burdens incident to maintaining great military establishments, it is necessary to create an emotional state akin to war psychology . . . This involves the development to a high degree of the nation-hero nation-villain ideology and the arousing of the population to a sense of the duty of sacrifice."

John Foster Dulles now heads the US State Department, and last month,

page leaflet published in Wardha, India, by Vinoba Bhave, and describing his Land Gift Mission.

The leaflet was sent to me by a Stuttgart (Germany) pacifist Frau Lohse Link—but of greater interest is the fact that it was given to her during a visit to Poland.

The Pole who gave it to her, discovering that she was a pacifist and spoke English, brought it to the hotel where she was staying.

He told her that he had copies of the pamphlet from friends, and hands them over to those who know English.

All for pacifists!

A FEATURE of Civil Defence

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IT is only in such conditions that the term "racial partnership" has real significance. If the unequal partnership is directed through the extension of educational measures and the provision of the necessary experience in administration and government—and particularly if Britain regards this as providing a first claim on its "help for the underdeveloped countries"—to the provision of the conditions for democratic self-government, then it will be seen to be a genuine racial partnership; otherwise the term merely becomes a euphemism for white domination.

We hope that there will be a further Labour Party statement which will amplify and clarify the policy along these lines; and we hope also that this will be done before Labour has a further opportunity to take office.

There is a further comment we must make that has even greater importance in the long run. This policy of democratic self-government for peoples now under alien domination can only be realised to the extent to which the over-riding policy of Labour is directed to its disengagement in the world power struggle.

While the struggle continues and Labour accepts a military integration in the formidable treaty construction of the Western power bloc all its good intentions in the colonial sphere will be constantly at the mercy of its struggle to continue to operate as a "great power."

Peace issues at the Labour Party Conference

By TED BERROW

THE Labour Party Conference spent a rather inspiring Wednesday morning debating the Executive's statement on "Equality". There were able speeches from the platform by Harold Wilson and Hugh Gaitskell supporting the document, but generally delegates felt that the statement was satisfactory and were concerned to press on to more important things.

The only challenge came from delegates from the Amalgamated Engineering Union and Leeds East Labour Party who both demanded the right to a job as a necessary part of any programme of social justice. Mr. Gaitskell did not bother to refer to this pair when he closed the discussion.

Neither was any satisfactory reply given to two questions raised on the parliamentary report. Mr. Pearson-Clarke, of Southend West Labour Party, moved some practical suggestions for concessions by both Arabs and Jews to settle the Israel question, and Dick Leonard (Harrow West)

wanted an assurance that the abolition of capital punishment would be pressed home, but both matters were side-stepped by the Executive.

An attempt to oppose the Parliamentary report on Suez, on the grounds of Gaitskell's speech on August 2, was prevented by the Chairman, as he said Suez had been discussed on Monday.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Wednesday afternoon was spent in unsatisfactory debate on Foreign Affairs.

Konni Zilliacus, MP for Manchester (Gorton) moved a motion welcoming changes in Russia and calling for the abandonment of old military bases and for a security system under the UN.

He also asked for talks with the Eastern Communist Parties. He was

necessary in the interest of his client, but that there is still not sufficient to permit that his speech shall be published without preliminary censorship."

We may add to the comment of Glos Weikopolski, however—and there is great promise in the fact that we are able to do so—that there is now sufficient liberty in Poland for a newspaper to have felt that it could dare to make this comment.

We cannot, of course, measure the degree of courage that may have been required in its Editor for this comment to be published, but it is in great contrast with what he would have felt able to do when Stalinism ruled; and there is a world of difference between what this indicates and the conditions in which the monstrous Russian "purge" trials of the 1930s were conducted.

There is horror in the Poznan trials, but there is also reason for hope.

The block vote

WITH a touch of humorous malice, a journalist at Blackpool asked Mr. Bevan what were his views on the block vote now. Mr. Bevan diverted the sting in the question by remarking that the block vote might now better reflect the views of the rank and file than it did some time ago.

warmly welcomed by the Conference, particularly by the constituency parties which gave him 235,000 votes earlier in the week for the National Executive Committee.

He was seconded by Jack Ryan, of North Paddington, who said that today fear was the main danger of war.

Mr. McDermott, of the Woodworkers, then moved a "party line" motion on Germany, in which Russia was accredited with most of the blame for the country's continued division.

The debate became more confused as a further motion on disarmament was placed before the Conference. This was well moved by the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, and it formed the basis for subsequent discussion.

The Barrow delegate said it was essential to plan disarmament in order to avoid unemployment.

The fault with the motion was that it failed to specify unilateral disarma-

★ ON BACK PAGE

The Press and Suez

IN the New Statesmen last week,

Mr. Francis Williams gave a very disturbing account of the steps taken by the Government to manipulate the Press during the development of the Suez crisis.

The Press were given the line the Government desired them to take in confidential briefings, and it was the evident desire of the Government that the warlike preparations—the troop movements, the despatch of aircraft carriers, etc.—that it was making should be played up to the full to assist in a war of nerves.

Generally speaking, the Press seems

disappointed at the attitude of the American Government since his visit to Washington and feels that they have let him down.

Whether because of this or as a last attempt to win the next elections, it is even suggested that he may propose the development of a Third (armed) Force centring around Western Germany as a means of holding the balance between America and Russia.

It may well be that his days as Chancellor are numbered and that the whole question of the West German contribution to NATO, including conscription, may once more be in the melting pot as proposals for reunification become the major issue.

From the Editor's Notebook

Disturbance in Washington

IN 1939 John Foster Dulles wrote in "War, Peace and Change":

"In order to bring a nation to support the burdens incident to maintaining great military establishments, it is necessary to create an emotional state akin to war psychology . . . This involves the development to a high degree of the nation-hero nation-villain ideology and the arousing of the population to a sense of the duty of sacrifice."

John Foster Dulles now heads the US State Department, and last month, Walter Gormly, American Peace News reader in Iowa, hied himself off to Washington to distribute mimeographed extracts from this book to government employees as they entered the State Department offices.

"One fellow was so disturbed, though, that he shoved me backward over a low wall along the sidewalk so that I fell on a newsboy's pile of papers," Walter tells me in a letter.

The incident drew a large crowd and Walter, unhurt, got rid of his leaflets quite quickly.

From Poland

"I AM trying to bring about a silent ideological revolution in our social outlook by asking the rich to donate lands to the poor.

"My mission is not to stave off a revolution. I want to prevent a violent revolution and create a non-violent revolution . . . New things can happen. Nothing like the Russian revolution had happened before, but it happened. So also this could happen. It is a historical necessity."

These paragraphs come from a 4-

page leaflet published in Wardha, India, by Vinoba Bhave, and describing his Land Gift Mission.

The leaflet was sent to me by a Stuttgart (Germany) pacifist Frau Lohse Link—but of greater interest is the fact that it was given to her during a visit to Poland.

The Pole who gave it to her, discovering that she was a pacifist and spoke English, brought it to the hotel where she was staying.

He told her that he had copies of the pamphlet from friends, and hands them over to those who know English.

All for pacifists!

A FEATURE of Civil Defence Week in Eltham, Kent, was a film show.

A hall was booked and 15 CD workers awaited their audience.

At last two people arrived; not enough to warrant showing the H-bomb film at the scheduled time, so they played gramophone records.

After twenty minutes of music the officials decided to put the film on for the benefit of the two members of the public.

And so the two Peace Pledge Union members who had come along to give away their leaflets had a special showing all to themselves.

There's hope if . . .

READERS will not be surprised to learn that the PPU have on their hands a large stock of the special leaflets prepared for the week.

The 120-years-old South-East London newspaper, The Kentish Mercury, ended a bitingly sarcastic report on Deptford's Civil Defence:

" . . . there's always hope. If you can find a non-radio-active tin of beans, a non-radio-active pile of bricks—and a non-radio-active tin-opener—the Civil Defence will show you how to cook."

PACIFIST CALL TO NEW STUDENTS

Pacifists at the University College, London, were on their toes at the opening of the new University year. Every Freshman received the following letter this month; but before the letter went out, Christopher Farley told *Peace News* last week, there was "a really good nucleus in the College with bags of enthusiasm."

All University Pacifist groups and societies are invited to send news of their activities to *Peace News* and also to keep in touch with the Inter-University Pacifist Society, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, which has recently published its Broadsheet No. 2; a short list of useful pamphlets.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON PACIFIST SOCIETY

DEAR FRESHER,

Welcome to University College! As you'll want to make the most of your opportunities here, The Students' Union has produced a Students' Handbook to guide you. You've received your copy and seen that there are scores of societies; the problem is which to join.

We believe our Pacifist Society is of vital interest to any intelligent person.

We are taking this step, unprecedented for us, of addressing you as an individual as term starts, because we are convinced that pacifism, the unconditional rejection of war as an instrument of policy, is more relevant to the world's needs than ever.



The Communists and Anti-Communists will tell you that the path to peace lies through militant support of East or West.

We do not want you to go through your University career without meeting an idea right outside the field of militarism, a new dimension in human behaviour.

Because nations will never be bullied into submission by threats, because arms races invariably end in war, and inspection of nuclear stocks is impossible, we believe that only a bold gesture of disarmament, unilateral if necessary, can restore faith to a desperate world and challenge the H-bomb—which is the ultimate policy of despair, the complete bankruptcy of statesmanship.

The Suez crisis has demonstrated the folly of pursuing power policies in a world where major war is no longer possible—and public opinion helped to remove the threat of war.



The struggle between good and evil systems, however, cannot be ignored; to it we believe the H-bomb is disastrously irrelevant.

We refuse to surrender to fear, and place

"Go North, young man"

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

A MAN-MADE oasis in the heart of the Sahara; a bathe in seas 80 degrees Fahrenheit, 20 miles north of the Arctic; control of floods and the redirection of rivers; power from sun, wind, and water, harnessed to the service of man: all this, and more, was possible.

So Ritchie Calder, former Science Editor of the *News Chronicle*, told an entranced audience at a recent National Peace Council week-end conference.

Title of the conference was "People, Food and Power."

"Civilisation" today implied the television sets and railway trains of Britain, America and Russia—the scientific civilisation of the Industrial Revolution based on the fossil fuels—coal, oil and natural gas—eighty per cent of which were to be found north of the tropic of Cancer.

But today we were discovering new sources of power: power from water, power from the sun, power obtained through the transmission of the great winds of Antarctica. The geography of the power regions of the world—and hence of its potential food supplies—could in the future be completely reversed.

This startling fact had been revealed at the World Power Conference held recently in Vienna.

We heard much of the power of atomic energy; little of the powers of hydro-electricity to be found in the wet tropical world.

We heard much of Calder Hall; yet in 10 years time, when at a cost of about £360 million, we had 15 such atomic stations, the power produced would be no greater than that from one Russian hydro-electric dam.

CHINESE PLAN

The Chinese had learnt the lessons he had seen neglected in other parts of the world.

They had one colossal plan,* involving 42 dams, for the control of the Yellow River; they had great multi-purpose plans for re-afforestation and revegetation of vast areas; they had plans which could produce one quarter of all the energy to be found in the world today.

The redirection of rivers and conservation of water could mean the redispersal of population to the great uninhabited and undeveloped uplands (for South East Asia was not overpopulated but over-concentrated).

It could change the rice deficiency areas to rice exporting areas in all the rain-belt areas of the world.

Ritchie Calder described the breeding of a hybrid rice which would double the rice yield;

per day, or one per second. Whereas in 1850 the population took 100 years to double itself, today the population could double itself in fifty years.

The largest increase in population was in the poorer countries where famine was already rife.

We could not impose birth-control: such an attempt would be regarded as an imperialist trick depriving the ex-colonial nations of what they believed to be their right.

But we could afford to give away £25 million without any lowering of our present standard of living—foregoing only the continued increase in our standard of living. Dr. Rita Hinden quoted many figures to prove this point. By giving wisely, without strings, patronage or ulterior political aim, we could completely revolutionise the present situation.

Asia desperately needed our help, emphasised Dr. W. Klatt, recently returned from a Food and Agriculture Organisation mission to the Far East.

If we included India, Pakistan and Japan, but excluded China, we would be considering an area in which well over a quarter of the world's population tried to make a living from less than five hundred million acres of crop land—three quarters of an acre per head.

Here in the villages—and the rural population accounted for at least three out of four of the total population—the average expectation of life was from 30 to 32 years; every second child died before reaching the age of 10 years.

On the floor of his three-walled wooden or bamboo hut (if wealthy he had a mat), the hired labourer and his family ate, slept and died with no opportunity for privacy, no prospect of future change.

Three factors tended to delay progress: suspicion of the Westerner as a "disguised agent of colonialism," reluctance of the chosen few to return to their native villages when trained, a conservative attitude towards new implements and long-term projects.

Second only in optimism to Ritchie Calder was Mr. Huan Hsiang, Charge d'Affaires of the London Embassy of the People's Republic of China.

WORKERS' FOOD

China had 600 million people, one quarter

October 12, 1956—PEACE NEWS—3

NO PEACE WITHOUT SACRIFICE

REMEMBRANCE Sunday is to be observed in Britain on Sunday, November 11 this year.

The Archbishop of Canterbury issued the following statement on October 2, 1956:

"I repeat the usual request that services be so arranged that the two minutes silence may be everywhere kept whether in church or round a war memorial. The form of service approved for previous years is obtainable from SPCK 322 Regent Street, London, W.1.

"Peace can never be bought without sacrifice, and those who sacrifice health of mind and body, most of all those who sacrifice life itself, are the true peacemakers. It is their sufferings and sacrifices which determine peoples to follow 'the more excellent' way of God's peace."

"This year amid all our anxieties Remembrance Sunday should be observed with renewed faith and dedication."

In recent years a number of requests have been made by pacifists to clergy and local authorities for the ending of military pageantry on Remembrance Day.

In the columns of *Peace News* last year the Rev. W. E. Booth Taylor urged that "something of the spirit of non-violence should be manifested on the day."

At Portsmouth a small posy was laid on the war memorial with the following message attached:

"In memory of all war-resisters who have died while courageously refusing to bear arms against their fellowmen. Humanity is on their side. May those who continue to resist war as conscientious objectors in all countries take heart from the courage of those great men. Wars will cease when men refuse to fight."

Non-violence lectures begin tonight in London

WITH the publication of the Labour Peace Fellowship's "Challenge to Labour" drawing attention to the Labour Party's "urgent need . . . to examine fully methods of non-violent resistance . . .," a series of lectures opening in London tonight have a special significance.

The lectures, on "Non-violence and Social Change," will be given at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1, on eight successive Fridays at 7 p.m., by Gene Sharp, MA, a member of *Peace News* editorial staff who has made a close study of the subject.

The programme for the series, planned as a unity, is:

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The struggle between good and evil systems, however, cannot be ignored; to it we believe the H-bomb is disastrously irrelevant.

We refuse to surrender to fear, and place our faith in the power of example and in non-violent resistance to tyranny, in the tradition of Tolstoy, William Penn, Jesus, the Quakers, Gandhi and many others.

Only such a policy can feed the hungry millions, shelter the homeless, remove inequalities and lead to a thorough-going, enduring, just peace.

Perhaps you violently disagree, or haven't thought much about it? Whatever your position, we'd like to meet you and hear your views.

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Don't miss our Freshers' Tea, when Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, of this College, will address Freshers on "Is Pacifism Practical?" in Hut F at 5 p.m. on Monday, October 8. Note the date now.

Please don't miss this opportunity of broadening your University education. With our best wishes for a successful career.

Yours sincerely,
CHRISTOPHER FARLEY,
Chairman, Pacifist Society.

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"I refuse absolutely to write off any part of the world" he affirmed.

Today we had discovered, lying far below the hot sands of the Sahara, a deep underground reservoir, the "Albion Nappe," which when tapped could "bring life to the howling desert."

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ARCTIC DAHLIA

Here man could settle. A whole construction camp—cook houses and bunk houses—could be flown in in a matter of half an hour. Here during 40 days of 24 hours sunlight, he had seen a dahlia grow, as in a slow-motion film, to a height of seven feet.

"Go North, young man," concluded the speaker. "Conditions are fun when you come to terms with them."

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WORKERS' FOOD

China had 600 million people, one quarter of the world's population; it possessed one fifteenth of the world's area. China, therefore, had her population problem. China was interested in methods of birth control, but this was not on account of her food position, he emphasised. It was to give her women time, leisure and education.

The days were gone when an outdated social and political system hampered development; when peasants lived at a near starvation level, knowing nothing of the improvement of implements nor the storing of food for a rainy day; when every famine took its toll on human life.

Now every labourer had his own piece of land: land and manpower were unified in a system of voluntary co-operation throughout whole areas: there were schemes for water conservation, flood control, new methods of transportation and an increased yield of crop per unit.

The output of grain had increased 66.6 per cent in six years (1949-1956) or an average of 10 per cent per year. The worker's food had averaged 462 lb. in 1949, 634 lb. in 1954, 660 lb. in 1955: this meant 1.32 lb. of grain for every worker per day (2,100 calories) and was considered sufficient.

Great new plans were now in operation. One thing only was required: international peace.

Other speakers at the conference were Sir Olaf Caroe, Governor, North-West Frontier Province, India 1946-7 and author of "Wells of Power," who described the under-populated rich oil lands of Iraq, and Mr. Le Gros Clark, joint author of "From the Hills to the Cities

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- Oct. 12 : What is non-violence? A typology.
- Oct. 19 : The social philosophy and political strategy of M. K. Gandhi—I.
- Oct. 26 : The social philosophy and political strategy of M. K. Gandhi—II.
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- Nov. 23 : Some elements in the programme and strategy of non-violent revolution.
- Nov. 30 : What of the future?

Mrs. V. L. Pandit, Horace Alexander, and Professor C. A. Coulson have become vice-presidents of International Voluntary Service for Peace, the British section of Service Civil International.

MERSEYSIDE PEACE NEWS BAZAAR

SAT., 20th OCTOBER, 3-6 p.m.

Hope Street Church Hall
(Next to Philharmonic Hall)

BRING-AND-BUY SALE • CHILDREN'S DANCING DISPLAY • HOUSMANS BOOK STALL • ENDSLEIGH CHRISTMAS CARDS AND GIFTS • REFRESHMENTS • ETC.

violent resistance to tyranny, in the tradition of Tolstoy, William Penn, Jesus, the Quakers, Gandhi and many others.

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1150-689-461



IF I was not an optimist I should be more anxious than I actually am about the position of the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund. As the above sum indicates, we still have to raise £461 as we enter on the last quarter of the year.

It is therefore high time that we caught up the lag and found the elusive £200 which for many weeks now has been the difference between our total and the amount which on the average we should have raised.

I am sure that £200 is waiting somewhere to come to us either in one generous gift or several smaller amounts. But, please, do not be put off by the mention of £200 or rely on someone else to help.

We need your contribution, however large or small you can make it, and, after all, the cause for which I appeal is your cause and your responsibility if you are a pacifist or have any concern about getting rid of war that a peaceful world may result.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1956 : £1,150
Amount received to date : £689

Amount still required : £461

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

violent resistance with its killers, ares and lethargy—by the use of penicillin; the removal of pests by means "which did not even make the poor little mosquito unhappy."

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We in the West—unlike the Russians—had given to youth a choice between a gadget-ridden, H-bomb-ridden world and rock-and-roll. They had chosen the jungle. He did not blame them.

Great things awaited the man with the missionary spirit. The great uninhabited parts of the world could supply the world's needs for many decades to come.

Ritchie Calder was but one of six speakers, all of whom from various angles, and with varying degrees of optimism or pessimism, nevertheless agreed that "it should not be beyond the ingenuity of man, to see that the food resources of the world kept pace with the one per cent annual increase of population."

Emphasising the serious and dangerous aspects of the present situation, Dr. Rita Hinden, formerly Secretary of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, said:

"In spite of the economic development of the world, the proportion of the world's underfed, according to a PEP Survey published six months ago, has increased in number from half the world 20 years ago, to two-thirds today.

"The gap in the living standards between the poorer and the richer countries has widened and not diminished. This increase—from one half to two thirds—is the frightening fact which we have to consider today."

Exploitation was not greater than in the hey-day of colonialism; world resources had increased. But we had a birth rate of 80,000

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At the close of the conference Eric Baker, Secretary of the National Peace Council, drew attention to a register of vacancies abroad for work in this field which the NPC are compiling.

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Nov. 23 : Some elements in the programme and strategy of non-violent revolution.
Nov. 30 : What of the future?

Mrs. V. L. Pandit, Horace Alexander, and Professor C. A. Coulson have become vice-presidents of International Voluntary Service for Peace, the British section of Service Civil International.

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*Described by Leslie Hale, MP, PN Sept. 28.

A PILE OF PAMPHLETS

Thoughts of Gandhi

Unto this Last, by John Ruskin, paraphrased by M. K. Gandhi, 68 pp., 6 annas (1s.).

Gandhi and Marx, by K. G. Mashruwala, 118 pp., Rupees 1 annas 8 (3s.).

"My Dear Child," Letters from M. K. Gandhi to Esther Faering, 124 pp., Rupees 1 annas 8 (3s.).

All published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, India, obtainable from Housmans Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

GANDHI once said that the two Western books that had most influenced his thought were the New Testament and Ruskin's *UNTO THIS LAST*. He read the latter on a long train journey when he was working in South Africa, and was so moved by it that he could not sleep that night.

He determined to change his life in accordance with the ideals of the book, and later wrote a paraphrase of it in Gujarati under the title of *SARVODAYA* (The Welfare of All).

This version has now been retranslated into English by V. G. Desai.

For Western readers, it cannot have either the quality or power of the original, but might perhaps be useful for any who want to know what it is about but cannot manage the eminent Victorian.

The second pamphlet is a comparative study of the philosophies of Gandhi and Marx, revised from a series of articles that appeared in *Harijan* and were first published in book form in 1951.

In a long introduction Vinoba Bhave declares that Gandhi's philosophy, not Western capitalism, is the only alternative to Communism.

"If the last hundred years or so of the social life of humanity were boiled away, the residue would most likely be these two great names. Lenin is ingested in Marx, and the shadow of Tolstoy spreads over Gandhi. The two ideologies stand face to face, each bent on swallowing up the other."

This is the struggle for the soul of India, and indeed the whole of Asia, as seen by an Indian, and we who are apt to think in terms of Western Civilisation and backward countries of the East, should meditate upon it.

The 141 letters in "My Dear Child" are personal notes, some of them only a few lines, written between 1917 and 1940. Because the writer had no idea that they would be published, and mixed comments, advice, family enquiries, quotations and verses with the usual miscellanies of most correspondence, they present a clearer picture of the everyday thoughts and concerns and the tender nature of the Mahatma than many critical studies of his life.

The *Soil and Everyman*, by E. Westcott, 72 pp., Author, 17 Wheat Hill, Letchworth, Herts., 3s. 9d. There seems, for some reason that it would be difficult to define, a persistent association of certain theories of dietary reform and soil cultivation with pacifism, and some of this paper are always interested in

The Heritage of Community, 64 pp., Yellow Springs, Ohio, Community Service, \$1. This booklet has the subtitle "A critique of Community living based on great ways of life practiced by small communities over the world."

It deals not with the artificially created communities that sprang up in such numbers under the stress of war and its aftermath, but with small natural communities such as are found among the Eskimos, the Burmese and the Hopi Indians.

Freedom and Education, by John Christie, 32 pp., London, Epworth Press, 2s. 6d. This is the text of a lecture given by the Principal of Jesus College, Oxford. Its theme is that the dull compulsion of a monotonous job, the vacant mind with no genuine interests of its own, and the sham culture that apes interests it does not feel, are the real enemies of freedom, for people who suffer from them cannot put up any resistance to dictatorship.

It is the task of the educator to overcome them and to replace them with a free, independent and self-determined spirit that will fit men and women to take their place in the new world that is steadily emerging as a result of modern scientific achievement.

War and its Aftermath, Letters from Hilda Clark from France, Austria and the Near East, 1914-1924, London, Friends Book Centre, 5s. Hilda Clark died in February, 1955, and this book is a memorial edited by her friend Edith M. Pye.

She was a Quaker doctor who devoted the whole of her life to relief work, and the fields of her service read like battle honours, as indeed they are: France (1914-18), Austria (1919-23), Poland (1922), Greece (1923), Serbia, Bulgaria, Turkey (1924), Austria (1938), Spain, France (1941).

There is, perhaps, no new information, no research material in these simple letters, but friends who knew their writer, or were also involved in the work with her, will be glad to have them printed.

WHAT CAN SURVIVE
A WAR?

Reprinted from *Manas*

IN the Christian Century (the American "undenominational" weekly Protestant magazine) for August 22, John C. Bennett, dean of the faculty of Union Theological Seminary (New York City), gives his view of Christian teaching in relation to war. His actual subject is "The Draft and Christian Vocation," but his basic contention is that it is a Christian duty to prepare for, and fight if need be, a war.

Dr. Bennett pays his respects to pacifists by dividing them into two groups—those who reject war without proposing an alternative policy, such as non-violent resistance, and those who believe that Gandhian methods afford a strategy which may be successful against tyranny or aggression. His judgment of pacifists is qualified by this division:

Christian pacifists often provide a corrective for more conventional attitudes in the church and in the nation, but they are a better corrective if they themselves refrain from offering facile political solutions that do not take seriously the tragic character of the dilemmas which our nation and its policy-makers face.

Honest critic

Dr. Bennett has always been a transparently fair and honest critic of the pacifists. In this article he makes the source of his convictions clear:

In the political sphere we should support those policies which have the best chance of serving justice and freedom and peace or, in some cases, the best chance of preventing some great evil that threatens a nation or a group of nations.

I often ask myself this simple question: What would the world be like today if the only effective military power in the world were in the Communist countries?

The answer I cannot escape is that every free nation within the reach of the Communist countries would be under continuous pressure—not necessarily invasion, but a stepping-up of all kinds of propaganda and conspiratorial pressure. . . . Even countries at a distance from the Communist countries would be subject to blackmail.

Gradually the Communist world would become so enlarged that what would remain of the free world would have very great difficulty in maintaining itself . . .

There is nothing in the Christian view of things which enables us to escape this dilemma. We have a responsibility to preserve as large an area of freedom as possible. We have a responsibility to prevent a Third

World War if possible. And there is no guarantee of success in either effort.

Christian faith and Christian love must control our choices in this actual situation, and no choice that is open to us is free from great moral risk.

There are obvious pacifist rejoinders to these arguments, but what seems of greater interest, here, is the *corporate* responsibility declared for Christians by Dr. Bennett. The "we" in this last paragraph seems to fuse Christian and national obligations into unity. We (an editorial "we") wonder about this.

We can find much about love in the New Testament, but nothing that we know of to indicate that Jesus thought it possible to implement love by a national act of war, or any kind of national act.

There is a sense in which Dr. Bennett's proposal that war may be a duty can claim humanitarian grounds, but was the State, in Jesus' view, ever an engine of peace and brotherhood?

From what we have been able to gather of Jesus' teachings, he located all important moral decisions within the individual.

Dr. Bennett's charge

The State was an element in the surroundings of the individual, but not a significant moral instrument for the individual to use. Times have changed, of course, and many people, along with Dr. Bennett, believe that the modern democratic State, as distinguished from the Roman Empire of Jesus' lifetime, can be an avenue of moral action by the individual citizen.

But we should note that the State acquires this character only as it gives scope to the moral decisions of the individual.

Now the "good" that Dr. Bennett hopes for from war is the maintenance of the area of freedom in the world, and possibly its extension. "The most that military preparations can do is to help us to gain time, to preserve freedom of action for the free and the uncommitted nations." Again, the notion is corporate.

The "free" nations, no doubt, are those nations whose citizens have greater individual freedom under their governments than they

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This pamphlet is a collection of notes on soil fertility with special emphasis on the ill effects of chemical fertilisers and modern insecticides.

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November 3 & 4, Brighton

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"Collective Pacifism"

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Douglas Clark, Stuart Morris
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The "free" nations, no doubt, are those nations whose citizens have greater individual freedom under their governments than they would under "unfree" or "committed" nations. The presumption, here, is that this freedom is important since without it men will have little chance to find their way to religious truth and redemption. What other goal could lead a conscientious Christian to contemplate so dreadful a measure as modern war?

This, then, is the justification for war—that it may make possible the spread of saving truth; that the alternative is the possibility or probability of a tyranny which will suppress the truth and destroy those institutions devoted to making the truth known.

Or, in broader terms, an unfree society is a society prejudicial to humane values—Christian values—and the preservation of a culture favourable to those values may require a war in its defence.

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But he would allow no violence. For years he had been preaching love, peace and non-violence.

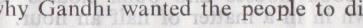
Now he called on the people to rebel non-violently. They were to refuse to obey unjust laws, but always in a peaceful manner.

Above all the people rebelled against the taxes they were expected to pay. These were

AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO
THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

far too many for the masses of Indians, who were already on the brink of starvation.

In particular there was the salt tax. This meant great hardship to millions of poor



THIS is hard for children to understand, perhaps, but as soon as you are old enough you must read and study all that Gandhi taught by his words and daily example.

You will then understand that it is the best teaching in the world. All the great religions of the earth tell us to live as Gandhi lived, but men are blind and foolish and confuse everything.

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Non-violent rebellion

Last week we read how during the 1914-18 war Gandhi founded the now famous Satyagraha Ashram. Here he collected twenty-five people who all made vows of self-sacrifice for the good of others, and lived together like one loving family.

THOUGH Gandhi had been so full of hope that the British would reward India by giving her complete freedom, he was bitterly disappointed. When the war ended it became plain that there was to be no reward at all for the sacrifices India had made.

As time went on, harsher laws came to oppress the people, until Gandhi saw that rebellion all over the country was the only way to break the British power in India.

But he would allow no violence. For years he had been preaching love, peace and non-violence.

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far too many for the masses of Indians, who were already on the brink of starvation.

In particular there was the salt tax. This meant great hardship to millions of poor Indians whose food is often only rice and wheat flavoured with a little salt. Gandhi encouraged them to avoid the tax by preparing their own salt from sea water.

The Government had also forbidden the sale of a number of books which spoke of freedom. They did not want the people to read such books.

Gandhi had many thousands of copies of these books printed. These copies were carried about everywhere by Congress volunteers and offered for sale at four annas each.

Though the price was so low, people often gave as much as five or ten rupees instead, in order to give Gandhi money to carry on his great work. One man even gave fifty rupees for one book. In this way a lot of money was collected.

After a time the Government left off forbidding the sale of these books, as it seemed useless.



NO leader ever fought before as Gandhi fought. However violently the Government might treat Indians, he ordered only quiet civil disobedience. People were to refuse to obey unjust laws, but they were never to strike back, no matter what they were made to suffer.

If they were fired on or beaten, they were just to stand firmly in their places. They were never to run away, but only ignore orders and disobey laws quietly.

They were to refuse to work, to refuse to do whatever they were ordered, but they were never to harm anyone.

This refusal to work, by thousands of people at a time, upset life in the big cities completely. Everything came to a standstill. In this way Gandhi hoped to force the British to come to terms.

Whenever he heard that people had forgotten his instructions and wounded or killed any British soldiers or policemen, Gandhi was very sad.

He knew and loved the British people. He had lived and studied among them, and he knew that they were just like other people.

If the soldiers now fired on disobedient Indians, it was because they were obeying orders which told them to do so. It was the orders and the laws which were bad, and that was why Gandhi wanted the people to disobey them.



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You will then understand that it is the best teaching in the world. All the great religions of the earth tell us to live as Gandhi lived, but men are blind and foolish and confuse everything.

They are often very artful and selfish, too, and twist and turn the laws of the One God and Eternal Father to suit their own convenience.

Gandhi always prayed with all his heart that he might know and obey the true will of God. God never refuses to answer such a prayer. That is how we know that Gandhi was right in teaching what he did.



HE wanted India to be free, but he did not want even one man to be hurt for the sake of gaining freedom.

He knew that if Indians would go on quietly and bravely showing the British that they had every right to be free, the British would be forced to understand in the end. And that was how it was. That is how and why India is free today.

The fight was a very long one, though. So many times the Indian people felt that freedom must be near, but always they were disappointed. This is easy to understand.

Nobody likes to give up his treasures without a struggle. Even a child fights anyone who tries to take away his toys. So, of course, the British did not even want to think of giving up a great, rich and beautiful country like India.

NEXT WEEK: Two Great Wars.

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freedom. The presumption, here, is that this freedom is important since without it men will have little chance to find their way to religious truth and redemption. What other goal could lead a conscientious Christian to contemplate so dreadful a measure as modern war?

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The pacifist is accused of giving comfort and aid to the enemy. "In fact," writes Dr. Bennett, "a strong case can be made in our present situation for the view that if our military strength were allowed to decline on a military basis, there would be more danger of the very war the pacifist seeks to prevent." But the man who truly supports a war to save Christian values for the world inevitably finds himself allied with many men animated by motives less sublime.

War, alas, is filled with the dirtiest of compromises. There is heroism and nobility in war, but war is neither heroic nor noble.

Plainly, if war can serve the highest good, then victory is at least hypothetically a pathway to the highest good, and thus the definer of all morality, *pro tem*. What honest man will support a war without adopting that hypothesis?

Or under what circumstances should he withdraw his support—legally, with institutional honour, or illegally, in public shame?

A war conducted for the righteous ends proposed by Dr. Bennett would be a war in which purity vies with purity across the battlefield. When was there such a war, or will there be, short of a mythical Armageddon?

Dr. Bennett tells of some RAF flyers who felt so unworthy after certain bombing missions they had carried out that they refused to take holy communion.

He, like Reinhold Niebuhr, sympathises with their "sensitivity," but with Niebuhr says that the flyers failed "to understand that the

EXCLUSIVE: This is the first publication of the full text of the draft constitution of the proposed Arab Union, reported on page one.

THE ARAB STATES—

Convinced that their Arabic speaking peoples participate in one nationality, i.e., the Arab nationality, and therefore constituting one nation, i.e., the Arab nation,

And aspiring to realise the unity of the Arab countries in one federated State, Have agreed on the following pact which shall form the constitution of the federated State hereby created.

Chapter I. Basic Rules

ARTICLE 1: The Arab states signatory to this pact constitute one federated state called "The Arab Union."

Every other Arab State has the right to join the Union by submitting a request to the Federal Congress which decides on its acceptance by a two-thirds majority vote.

ARTICLE 2: Each member state shall exercise its own authority in all areas that are not defined in this constitution.

ARTICLE 3: The Arab Union has chosen as its capital the City of located in

The city, the boundaries of which are drawn by the Federal Congress, shall be administered directly by the Federal Congress.

ARTICLE 4: The flag of the Arab Union shall consist of three vertical stripes, from right to left, green, white and black. Stars equal in number to the member states will be placed in the centre of the white stripe.

ARTICLE 5: The Federal State insures the organisation, autonomy, constitution and frontiers of each member state.

ARTICLE 6: The Federal State guarantees to all citizens of the member states, regardless of race or creed, the human rights and the fundamental freedoms asserted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

ARTICLE 7: The Federal State guarantees to all religions and sects in the member states their respective traditions and their particular systems as moulded by the personal character of their followers insofar as they do not conflict with the national unity and the welfare of the Federal State.

ARTICLE 8: Treaties or agreements of any kind between two or more of the member states do not become final until they are confirmed by the Federal Congress by a two-thirds vote.

ARTICLE 9: Disputes between two or more

13. The issuance and regulation of the Arab Union currency.
14. Banking insofar as it affects the welfare of the national economy and public funds.
15. The co-ordination of taxation systems among the member states.
16. The basic legal principles pertaining to labour.
17. Laws pertaining to nationality of the citizens of the Arab States.
18. The basic principles of national education including the drafting of broad educational curricula in the member states.
19. The administration of the statistical affairs of the Federal State and of its citizens.
20. The right to perform functions that fall specifically or generally within its authority. It imposes and collects direct and indirect taxes in ways and means prescribed by Federal laws.

ARTICLE 14: The member states shall continue to exercise authority in all areas that are not consigned by virtue of this constitution, either explicitly or implicitly, to the Federal State.

Chapter 3. Federal Authority

I—LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY

ARTICLE 15: The Federal Congress shall constitute the legislative authority in the Federal State; it shall exercise all the legislative functions consigned by this constitution to the Arab Union.

The Federal Congress alone has the right to approve the budget of the Federal State. At the beginning of each year the budget is submitted by the executive to the Congress; the latter shall have the power of increasing or cutting the budgetary allotments.

ARTICLE 16: The Federal Congress shall consist of two supplementary houses: A. The House of Representatives; and B. The Senate.

The House of Representatives represents the people of the Federal State. The election of its members is made on the basis of the number of citizens (men and women) in each member state. All citizens who have completed the age of twenty can vote, provided they were not deprived through a court order of the civil and political rights.

The Senate represents the member states

the House of Representatives requests a joint session to debate certain specified questions.

ARTICLE 27: The Congress meets jointly in the following instances:

1. War and peace.
2. Treaties and international agreements.
3. The appointment of the members of the Federal Government.
4. The amendment of the constitution.
5. The trial of a member of the House of Representatives in the manner described in the constitution.

ARTICLE 28: When the Congress meets in joint session the meeting is presided over by the President of the Senate or by one of his Vice-Presidents. While the office (i.e., the Vice-President of the House of Representatives and its secretaries) of the House of Representatives performs the secretarial functions of the Congress.

2—EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY

ARTICLE 29: The executive authority of the Union is exercised by a council called the "Council of the Union" which consists of five members equal in rank and authority.

ARTICLE 30: The Federal Congress elects the members of the Council of the Union in a joint session by a two-thirds majority. The Council shall hold office for a period of four years beginning from the date of its election.

ARTICLE 31: The Federal Congress may renew the term of the members of the Council.

ARTICLE 32: The members of the Council of the Union must be from outside the House of Representatives and of the Senate.

ARTICLE 33: The members of the Council of the Union may not occupy any other office or undertake any kind of business during their term of office.

ARTICLE 34: If because of death, resignation or any other reason a vacancy occurs in the Council of the Union, the Federal Congress must, not later than one month after its official notification of the vacancy, elect a new member to fill the vacant position. The new member shall serve to the end of the term of the Council of the Union.

The vacancy need not be filled if it concerns one position only and if it happens in a period not exceeding six months before the expiration of the current term of the Council of the Union.

ARTICLE 35: The Council of the Union is responsible to the people of the Federal State only. If a conflict arises between the Council

9. The commanding of the armed forces of the Union and the appointment of its generals and officers.

10. The organisation of the internal administration of the Federal State and the supervision of its operation, either directly through the creation of special agencies in each of the organs of internal government, or indirectly through the local administrations that are subject to the member states.

11. The execution of the Federal budget, the administration of the Federal treasury and the collection of Federal taxes and duties.

12. The submission to the Federal Congress at the opening of its yearly session (i.e., the beginning of each year) a report on the state of the union covering the political, social and economic developments. It must also submit to the Congress at its request special reports on specific questions.

ARTICLE 38: The administration of the Federal State shall be entrusted to the Council of the Union. It shall supervise the various departments of the Government which operate under secretaries-general; each department being under one secretary-general who is subject to and responsible before the Council of the Union.

3—THE FEDERAL SUPREME COURT

ARTICLE 39: The Federal Supreme Court deals with conflicts arising from the following: First, as a court of first instance as well as a final tribunal and in accordance with the Federal Constitution.

1. The constitutional validity of laws passed by the Federal Congress.

2. The constitutional validity of laws passed by the legislative bodies of the respective member states.

3. The constitutional validity of the acts of the governments of the member states.

4. The constitutional validity of conflicts between the legislative and the executive authorities in the Union.

Second, it annuls or confirms the following in accordance with the Federal constitution:

1. The constitutional validity of each judgment or decision issued in a final form by the courts of the respective member states.

2. The constitutional validity of each governmental or administrative act passed by the governmental or administrative bodies of the respective member states.

Every other Arab State has the right to join the Union by submitting a request to the Federal Congress which decides on its acceptance by a two-thirds majority vote.

ARTICLE 2: Each member state shall exercise its own authority in all areas that are not defined in this constitution.

ARTICLE 3: The Arab Union has chosen as its capital the City of . The city, the boundaries of which are drawn by the Federal Congress, shall be administered directly by the Federal Congress.

ARTICLE 4: The flag of the Arab Union shall consist of three vertical stripes, from right to left, green, white and black. Stars equal in number to the member states will be placed in the centre of the white stripe.

ARTICLE 5: The Federal State insures the organisation, autonomy, constitution and frontiers of each member state.

ARTICLE 6: The Federal State guarantees to all citizens of the member states, regardless of race or creed, the human rights and the fundamental freedoms asserted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

ARTICLE 7: The Federal State guarantees to all religions and sects in the member states their respective traditions and their particular systems as moulded by the personal character of their followers insofar as they do not conflict with the national unity and the welfare of the Federal State.

ARTICLE 8: Treaties or agreements of any kind between two or more of the member states do not become final until they are confirmed by the Federal Congress by a two-thirds vote.

ARTICLE 9: Disputes between two or more member states shall be referred to the Federal Congress for arbitration. The Congress passes its decision by a two-thirds vote.

The member states are in all respects subject to and bound by the decision of the Federal Congress.

ARTICLE 10: If because of the acts of one or more of the member states, or any other cause, internal peace and security are endangered, the Federal Congress shall have the right to order the Federal Army to take the necessary military measures to restore order.

The above decision must be reached by an absolute majority in the Federal Congress.

The Congress may be called upon to take the above action by the Federal Government, by a member state, or by a congressman.

ARTICLE 11: Citizens of the Federal State must serve the Arab flag, which service shall be regarded as a holy obligation that cannot be waived either by the legislative or by the executive authorities.

Subject to military service laws, military service shall be compulsory for everyone who has completed the age of twenty.

Chapter 2. Powers of the Federal State

ARTICLE 12: The Federal State shall administer all affairs deemed vital to its welfare. Problems relating to foreign affairs, national

specification, or generally within its authority. It imposes and collects direct and indirect taxes in ways and means prescribed by Federal laws.

ARTICLE 14: The member states shall continue to exercise authority in all areas that are not consigned by virtue of this constitution, either explicitly or implicitly, to the Federal State.

Chapter 3. Federal Authority

I—LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY

ARTICLE 15: The Federal Congress shall constitute the legislative authority in the Federal State; it shall exercise all the legislative functions consigned by this constitution to the Arab Union.

The Federal Congress alone has the right to approve the budget of the Federal State. At the beginning of each year the budget is submitted by the executive to the Congress; the latter shall have the power of increasing or cutting the budgetary allotments.

ARTICLE 16: The Federal Congress shall consist of two supplementary houses: A. The House of Representatives; and B. The Senate.

The House of Representatives represents the people of the Federal State. The election of

its members is made on the basis of the number of citizens (men and women) in each member state. All citizens who have completed the age of twenty can vote, provided they were not deprived through a court order of the civil and political rights.

The Senate represents the member states

equally on the basis of seven senators from each.

DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR THE ARAB UNION

of the Union and the Federal Congress and is not resolved by political means, each of the parties has the right to refer the conflict to the Supreme Court for decision in accordance with the provisions of this constitution and in light of the public interest.

ARTICLE 36: The Council of the Union elects, in the beginning of each year and for a period of one year only, a President from among its members who will be the President of the Arab Union. At the same time a Vice-President is elected to carry over the office of the Presidency if, due to unforeseeable courses, the President cannot discharge the functions of his office.

The President of the Union cannot be re-elected more than once during a period of four years.

ARTICLE 37: The Council of the Union shall in the person of its President or vice-President represent the Arab Union in internal and external affairs. As the executive authority it

must also submit to the Congress at its request special reports on specific questions.

ARTICLE 38: The administration of the Federal State shall be entrusted to the Council of the Union. It shall supervise the various departments of the Government which operate under secretariats-general; each department being under one secretary-general who is subject to and responsible before the Council of the Union.

3—THE FEDERAL SUPREME COURT

ARTICLE 39: The Federal Supreme Court deals with conflicts arising from the following: First, as a court of first instance as well as a final tribunal and in accordance with the Federal Constitution.

1. The constitutional validity of laws passed by the Federal Congress.
2. The constitutional validity of laws passed by the legislative bodies of the respective member states.
3. The constitutional validity of the acts of the governments of the member states.
4. The constitutional validity of conflicts between the legislative and the executive authorities in the Union.

Second, it annuls or confirms the following in accordance with the Federal constitution:

1. The constitutional validity of each judgment or decision issued in a final form by the courts of the respective member states.
2. The constitutional validity of each governmental or administrative act passed by the governmental or administrative bodies of the respective member states.

Third, in its capacity as the supreme criminal court it deals as a court of first instance as well as a final tribunal and in accordance with the constitution and the Federal laws with the following:

1. The trials of the members of the Council of the Union.
2. The trials of the members of the Federal Congress in acts committed in violation of this constitution.

Each act violating the constitution shall be regarded as a criminal act.

Upon the confirmation of the criminal act the Federal Supreme Court shall pronounce its punishment in accordance with the penal law of the member state to which the criminal belongs.

If this particular penal law does not provide for a punishment for such a crime, the Federal Supreme Court shall then choose the pertinent penal provision from the laws of any of the respective member states.

ARTICLE 40: Cases shall be referred to the Federal Supreme Court either in the form of an independent case or as an emergency case during the consideration of a case which is subjudice in the ordinary courts of member states. In the latter event the emergency case shall not be accepted by the Supreme Court except with the final judgment or decision given in such a case.

ARTICLE 41: Every citizen and every government of the member states may avail himself or itself of the above procedure, provided it

Congress for arbitration. The Congress passes its decision by a two-thirds vote.

The member states are in all respects subject to and bound by the decision of the Federal Congress.

ARTICLE 10: If because of the acts of one or more of the member states, or any other cause, internal peace and security are endangered, the Federal Congress shall have the right to order the Federal Army to take the necessary military measures to restore order.

The above decision must be reached by an absolute majority in the Federal Congress.

The Congress may be called upon to take the above action by the Federal Government, by a member state, or by a congressman.

ARTICLE 11: Citizens of the Federal State must serve the Arab flag, which service shall be regarded as a holy obligation that cannot be waived either by the legislative or by the executive authorities.

Subject to military service laws, military service shall be compulsory for everyone who has completed the age of twenty.

Chapter 2. Powers of the Federal State

ARTICLE 12: The Federal State shall administer all affairs deemed vital to its welfare. Problems relating to foreign affairs, national defence, economy and education shall fall exclusively under its control.

ARTICLE 13: The following functions shall be specifically administered by the Federal State:

1. The representation of the Arab Union in foreign affairs, including the conclusion of treaties, international agreements and their ratification.
2. All questions of war and peace.
3. The acceptance of other Arab States into the Arab Union as members of the Federal State.
4. The execution of the injunctions of this constitution; the supervision of the execution of the constitutions of the respective member states. The Federal State shall have the right to take the necessary measures to enforce the proper execution of these constitutions.
5. The approval of boundary changes among the member states.
6. The organisation of national defence in the Arab Union and on its frontiers and the commanding of all the armed forces in the territories of the member states.
7. Internal and external peace.
8. Customs and laws appertaining thereto.
9. Commerce and industry and laws appertaining thereto.
10. Public development plans the execution of which involves two or more of the member states.
11. Land, sea and air communications.
12. Oil and questions appertaining thereto.

DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR THE ARAB UNION

equally on the basis of seven senators from each.

A. House of Representatives

ARTICLES 17 and 18: The House of Representatives consists of members elected on the basis of one (or more) deputies to each electoral district whose population is

Each member state shall be considered a large electoral district and shall supervise its own elections.

The election of the Federal House of Representatives, for the first time, shall follow the electoral laws of the respective member states. The first Congress shall prepare an electoral law governing the election of the members of the House of Representatives.

The duration of the House of Representatives is four years beginning with the date of the decree of the Federal Government issuing the election.

ARTICLE 19: The representative cannot be at the same time a member of the Senate. The representative who becomes a member of the Senate must choose, no later than ten days after his nomination, between the one or the other and must consequently resign his previous post.

ARTICLE 20: The House of Representatives elects in the beginning of each year its president and his assistants, i.e., two vice-presidents and two secretaries who supervise the sessions of the House.

ARTICLE 21: The members of the House of Representatives receive emoluments determined by the Federal Congress every three years.

B. The Senate

ARTICLE 22: The Senate is composed of representatives from the member states. Their appointment or their election is subject to the decision of each state in accordance with its laws and constitution.

ARTICLE 23: The term of the Senator is seven years, beginning from the date of the decree, issued by the government of the member state, delegating him to the Senate.

ARTICLE 24: The Senate elects in the beginning of each year from among its members, its president and his assistants, i.e., two vice-presidents and two secretaries who supervise the sessions of the Senate.

ARTICLE 25: The members of the Senate receive emoluments determined by the Federal Congress every three years.

C. The Sessions of the Two Houses and the Congress

ARTICLE 26: Each House meets separately unless they disagree on the budget or the passing of a Bill, and unless a majority of

of the Union and the Federal Congress and is not resolved by political means, each of the parties has the right to refer the conflict to the Supreme Court for decision in accordance with the provisions of this constitution and in light of the public interest.

ARTICLE 36: The Council of the Union elects, in the beginning of each year and for a period of one year only, a President from among its members who will be the President of the Arab Union. At the same time a Vice-President is elected to carry over the office of the Presidency if, due to unforeseeable courses, the President cannot discharge the functions of his office.

The President of the Union cannot be re-elected more than once during a period of four years.

ARTICLE 37: The Council of the Union shall in the person of its President or vice-President represent the Arab Union in internal and external affairs. As the executive authority it shall exercise the functions of government, in the Federal State and in all fields consigned to its jurisdiction.

It should perform in particular the following functions:

1. The administration of the affairs of the Federal State in accordance with the provisions of this constitution and of the Federal laws.
2. The execution of the constitution and Federal laws; the right to take all necessary measures, administrative or military, to guarantee their proper execution.
3. The preparation of Bills, laws and of the budget within the jurisdiction of the Union and their submission to the Federal Congress.
4. The negotiation and conclusion of treaties and agreements with foreign countries provided they are submitted to the Federal Congress for approval before they are put into effect.
5. The proposal of internal and foreign policies within the jurisdiction of the Federal Congress.
6. The appointment of ambassadors, ministers plenipotentiaries and consuls and all the paraphernalia of officers connected with the embassies, legations and consulates.
7. The receiving of ambassadors, ministers and consuls of foreign countries accredited to the Arab Union.
8. The defence of the Union against foreign attack and the supervision of internal peace and security in the Union.

as well as a final tribunal and in accordance with the constitution and the Federal laws with the following:

1. The trials of the members of the Council of the Union.
2. The trials of the members of the Federal Congress in acts committed in violation of this constitution.

Each act violating the constitution shall be regarded as a criminal act.

Upon the confirmation of the criminal act the Federal Supreme Court shall pronounce its punishment in accordance with the penal law of the member state to which the criminal belongs.

If this particular penal law does not provide for a punishment for such a crime, the Federal Supreme Court shall then choose the pertinent penal provision from the laws of any of the respective member states.

ARTICLE 40: Cases shall be referred to the Federal Supreme Court either in the form of an independent case or as an emergency case during the consideration of a case which is subjudice in the ordinary courts of member states. In the latter event the emergency case shall not be accepted by the Supreme Court except with the final judgment or decision given in such a case.

ARTICLE 41: Every citizen and every government of the member states may avail himself or itself of the above procedure, provided it is conducted in conformity with the special law of adjudication before the Federal Supreme Court. This law shall be passed by the Federal Congress.

ARTICLE 42: The Federal Supreme Court shall consist of seven members, from among whom the Federal Congress elects by a two-thirds majority the president of the court and his vice-president and the advisory members.

The Federal Congress shall not have the power to dismiss any member of the Court unless he proves to be deficient or commits acts in violation of his office.

ARTICLE 43: The President, Vice-President and Members of the Supreme Court shall receive emoluments commensurate with their positions. The emoluments shall be determined by the Federal Congress every four years. During this time the salary cannot be changed except when the change seeks to increase it, subject to the economic standing of the country.

Chapter 4. The Amendment of the Constitution

ARTICLE 44: Debate purporting the amendment of the present constitution is not allowed except after five years from its adoption. After this period the motion of amendment can be initiated by any of the following:

First, the third of the members of one of the House of the Federal Congress.

Second, the Federal Government in unanimous approval of its members.

Third, a Government of a member state.

The adoption of the amendment is subject, however, to the approval of the two-thirds majority of the members of the Federal Congress in a joint session.

SUEZ DEFENCE COMMITTEE BEGUN

"WE have got to make the United Nations work," said Mrs. Joyce Butler, Labour MP for Wood Green and Lower Tottenham, when she addressed a meeting called by the Wood Green Labour Party last week.

"We encourage other countries to negotiate but we seem to be afraid of negotiating ourselves," she said. "If we reject the decision of the Security Council we shall set back the hopes of peace for a generation."

Arising from the meeting, a demand was made for the formation of a Suez Canal Defence Committee in Wood Green, to oppose the present Government's policy over Suez. Chairman of the meeting, Cllr. R. G. Kendall, said he would take the suggestion to the management committee of Wood Green Labour Party, but added that people wishing to join could leave their names before going.

Mrs. Butler proposed sending a cable in her own name to the British delegation to the Security Council, urging that the delegation find a peaceful solution acceptable to the canal users and to Egypt. It was agreed that the cable should be sent in the name of the meeting.

Recall Reservists

Mrs. Rushton, of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, said that Nasser was within his rights in nationalising the canal; that the right of free passage had not been challenged, and that it was in Nasser's interest, as well as in those of the users, to keep the canal open.

Mrs. Butler believed that there was a real determination that people in this country will not go to war over Suez. "The simple fact of recognising, whether we like it or not, that Egypt has nationalised the canal, that it now owns the canal, that it is the responsible authority, and then going to Egypt and saying, 'How can we best use this canal for the interests of all,' is not impossible for a man like Eden."

She demanded that Reservists who had been called up should be brought home, and that Britain should turn back this "rusty, creaky, lumbering war machine" that has been in operation for the last two months.

French Objectors

From REX PHILLIPS

LONDON Quakers have had some useful correspondence with two prominent Deputies of the French National Assembly who have in the past concerned themselves with efforts to secure the passage of a Bill which would accord rights to conscientious objectors similar to those enjoyed by COs in Britain.

In their replies to the London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting Peace Committee of the Society of Friends, the Deputies have shown themselves to be keenly alive to the need for a

BRIDGING THE GAP WITH GOODWILL IN ALGERIA

TERRORISM broke out in Algeria two years ago, on November 1, 1954. Since then there have been murders and reprisals, more murders and more reprisals. Shocking news has come from Algeria of the slaughtering of patients in hospitals and of many innocent citizens.

The Moslems blame the French; the French blame the Moslems. The French are accused of having caused the conflict by being the aggressors long before; for using totalitarian methods of police repression, and sending to internment camps every man who disagreed with French colonialisation. The Moslems are accused of a shameful well-prepared aggression against the French.

Each party has the same idea of how to stop it all.

Say the French, "Only terror will stop the 'Fellagha'."

Say the Moslem nationalists, "Only more spectacular executions will deter the French, and force them to give us independence."

So when a group suspects that one of its members will be attacked, it takes the precaution of striking first, killing those whom it suspects, often murdering innocent people. And this is followed by reprisals, and again, by more reprisals.

The Trocmes found that both sides appeared to be sincere, but in such a state of emotion that when an outsider tried to see things objectively, it appeared in the eyes of both Moslem and French alike as a betrayal of truth and justice.

ETHNOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

The gap between the two peoples is great, and the Trocmes believe that even if violence were stopped today, there would be very little chance of a reconciliation. Differences stem from religion, clothing, customs, food and languages, and they have continued for a hundred years, rarely inter-penetrating.

Christianity, to the North African Moslem, is only what he sees and knows from his own experience. Unfortunately, this has led him to believe that it is a political and economic domination; an immoral behaviour of women who dress wantonly; indulgence in drinking (which their Holy Prophet forbids); an impure polytheism, having three deities (so op-

Andre and Magda Trocme, French members of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, have been working in Algeria this year. They have learnt firsthand of the fear of both sides, seen the panic actions resulting from the emotional stress of wartime, and found a pathetic misunderstanding of motives arising from ignorance and suspicion. Where literacy is negligible and language difficulties exist, it is the action of the stranger which interprets his faith, his race and his way of living to the people.

In Algiers, the Trocmes, coming face to face with these difficulties, tried to make and keep a "bridge of good will" to span the gap between the French and the Moslems.

★
The Trocmes were able to draw on their experiences of passive resistance from the last war, Andre Trocme, threatened with death by the Gestapo, was forced into hiding. He spent five weeks in a concentration camp.

the same courtyard, but on different floors. They could call one another easily, but could not come together onto the terraced roof or elsewhere. Their husbands permitted them only to walk the narrow confine between the two entrances of the house.

Magda found the women were very thirsty for any kind of knowledge, and she was able to organise three little groups of women who were willing to read, sew or knit. One morning, when she went to visit one of these groups, she found all the women gathered together in the yard and on the roofs, screaming, "Les freres ne veulent pas; les maries ne veulent pas, les peres ne veulent pas!" And the women had to obey; they had been forbidden by their brothers, husbands and fathers to learn any more.

When the Trocmes left Algeria, a few Christian volunteers continued with the lessons, but it was difficult to find French women who were willing to teach in Arab districts. French husbands were afraid of letting their wives go to Arab slums and making friends with Arab families. They felt this way even before the terrorism.



Civil Defence Civil Disobedience

THE eighteen pacifists who were arrested for not taking part in the civil defence drill held in New York City in July are due for trial on October 31, after an appellate court has heard the case of those sentenced on the same charges last year.

Eleven of the group, represented by an attorney, Kenneth Greenwalt, have pleaded "not guilty," whilst seven have entered the plea of "guilty" and will not be legally represented.

Stanley Borowsky of the Catholic Worker had refused bail, and remained in jail for several days until released without bail.

A nineteenth person arrested with the pacifists, David Caplan, a graduate assistant physicist at Purdue University, was tried and fined twenty-five dollars for his action. He told the court that his reason for not seeking shelter was, "There is no protection in New York City against the hydrogen bomb." The city needs shelters 500 feet below ground."

DOCTOR REFUSED TO BE DIRECTED

DR. GALE POTEET, who was instrumental in starting the Peace News distribution office in the USA with Russell Johnson, was ordered to report to the US District Court in Cleveland, Ohio, last August to be arraigned on charges of failure to report for civilian work under the doctors' draft law.

Dr. Poteet had been directed to work at State Hospital in Columbus, Ohio, last March. He has been working under his own volition at a hospital in Massachusetts.

Dr. Poteet's arraignment follows a Supreme Court decision on COs refusing to report for jobs assigned by draft boards. More than one hundred work refusal cases are being prosecuted by the Justice Department.

This time the Army objects!

AN Indian shop assistant, Valba Bhana of Taumarunui, New Zealand, who said that he did not object to military service, was granted exemption by a conscientious objection committee in Hamilton because he objected to eating the usual army food.

Through an interpreter Bhana said that he could eat mutton, but that in India the cow was sacred. He was a Hindu, and most Hindus would die rather than eat beef or meals cooked in beef or pig fat.

"It is a peculiar case," said the Ven. Archdeacon, J. R. Young, a member of the committee. "Bhana is not objecting, but the Army is to feeding him."

4,000 PLEDGE DEFENCE OF WELSH VALLEY

★ FROM PAGE ONE

with the people of the Welsh nation in their efforts to see that alternatives to the Tryweryn scheme be found and adopted. I wish you every success."

A message was also received from Dr. Robert D. McIntyre, President of the Scottish National Party.

In the main speech of rally, Alderman Gwynfor Evans called up people to realise the connection between the threatened seizure of Tryweryn Valley and the political subjugation of Wales.

He said: "... however uncivilised and boorish it may be, Liverpool's decision is perfectly legitimate in the present constitutional situation—quite as legitimate as the War Office's seizures of land all over Wales. It may be the central government in the one case and local government in the other, but both are acting legally.

"As long as English law permits it, and as long as English government sanctions it, any violation of Wales by an alien body is fully legal and constitutional.

"For Wales is a part of England, and English law prevails here. There is a Welsh nation, of course, but it exists only as a cultural, social community. Politically, it does not exist.

"It is more than a geographical expression, but it has no political expression. Sometimes it casts its shadow on the political scene, but never more than a shadow.

"If Wales had a political existence, actions of this kind would be unthinkable."

WITHOUT FREEDOM

After citing the differences between individual freedom and national freedom, Mr. Evans declared:

"Not only has Wales no freedom: she counts for nothing in English politics. This is true wherever there is a clear Welsh point of view towards an issue. It does not deflect government policy by one hair's breadth.

"Three weeks ago we were faced with the prospect of war. There might have been war, and that for a reason that the Welsh people would utterly reject as an occasion for the use of armed violence.

"Yet had there been war, Wales would have been in it, her attitude notwithstanding, and Welsh lads would have killed and been killed. Her opposition would have counted for as little as it did in the case of military conscription.

"Whether it be war on account of a water-way in another country or whether it be the decision of an English corporation to take

"Then, whoever continues to protest will find himself faced, not only by an English municipality—he will find the whole majesty of the law, the whole might of the State arrayed against him.

The Welsh have often had this experience."

In conclusion, he declared:

"This issue which brings us to Bala today may prove to be no more than another incident in the decline of a nation; but it could be, if we make it so, a beacon to mark and guide the progress of the movement whose success will free Wales and make these depredations an impossibility for ever."

NON-VIOLENT DEFENCE

At the 1956 Annual Conference of Plaid Cymru in Cardiff, August 4 to 6, the feelings were very strong against the seizure of the valley.

A motion expressing "our opposition to the granting of permission to the Liverpool Corporation to take possession of Cwm Tryweryn and to drown it to make a reservoir," was enthusiastically amended to read "We of the Plaid Cymru Conference will not allow the Liverpool Corporation to take possession of Cwm Tryweryn . . ."

The conference, with a total registration of about 500, and a high percentage of young people, was vitally concerned with what methods or resistance could be used to preserve the valley for Wales.

Plaid Cymru is pledged to the use of non-violent methods—both constitutional action and non-violent direct action, when necessary extra-legal.

The defence of the Tryweryn Valley will require all the ingenuity, courage and knowledge of non-violence which can be mustered.

What can survive a war?

● FROM PAGE FOUR

gospel was meant for people in exactly their predicament." Perhaps, *Erratum est humanum* covers a multitude of sins. But where do you draw the line?

How do you decide which private immoralities are permitted when they are done to benefit the State, the "Cause," or to bring "victory"?

And how do you assess the moral value of an institution which does everything it can to hide from the individual the fact that he ceases to be even human unless he faces this decision? What is the answer?

October 12, 1956—PEACE NEWS 7

Letters to the Editor

What are pacifists doing?

In *Peace News* on September 7 Winifred Greenfield argued that pacifists could only gain fresh adherents to their cause by "putting our case by word of mouth, with paper and pen, or through *Peace News*."

The early disciples, she urged, preached the Gospel in streets and market places. "We do not read of them witnessing to the Truth by undertaking manual or social work."

We close the correspondence which arose from the publication of Reginald Reynolds' article, "What are pacifists doing," with the following selection of letters.

AS a young girl I became interested in pacifism by buying a copy of *Peace News* on the street and not by the example of the good lives lived by people I had known.

Young people are too selfish on the whole to notice goodness; it is when we are older that we remember and pay tribute to the devoted lives led by some we knew.

I renounced war mainly because of a sense of burning indignation against those who wage war and delude the people, a very crude emotion no doubt, but one that started me on the road to pacifism.

My husband tells me that, as a young man, he felt the same and became a CO, not through any strong non-violent or religious views, but because he did not intend to be used to do the dirty work of those in authority.

So I agree with Miss Morrison (PN August 3). We need more active workers for pacifism. All the good constructive work that is being done will have been utterly in vain if we have another war.

FREDA COLLINS.

5 Esplanade, Liverpool, 22.

TRUE, the disciples preached the Gospel.

Actually, we gather they just couldn't keep silent. They fairly exploded with their Good News. But on closer examination of the accounts we find related, "They preached Christ" and this was what gave their message that vital spark.

Mrs. Greenfield comments that they should be our example as our messages are essentially the same and I agree with her. Then why don't we pacifists use their technique?

They concerned themselves chiefly with helping and healing individuals. These folk also "exploded" with the Good News to their friends and an irrepressible snowball movement was started. For the Christian telling his Gospel it is not a matter of "Do as I say" but "Come, where I am."

Did the disciples themselves, I wonder, ever fret about spreading the message? The people who were helped and healed gladly con-

growth" surely, is the spread of the message which we so long to see.

DOROTHY J. KNOWLES.
31 Sutherland Rd., London, W.13.

AS Winifred Greenfield refers us to the disciples as an example, she might read Romans XII, 6 (Phillip's Translation), which seems a fitting finale to this correspondence:

"Through the grace of God we have different gifts. If our gift is preaching let us preach to the limit of our vision, if it is serving, let us concentrate on our service, if it is teaching, let us give all we have to our teaching and if our gift be the stimulating of the faith in others, let us set ourselves to it."

"Let the man who is called to give, give freely, let the man who wields authority think of his responsibility and let the sick visitor do his job cheerfully."

Shepherds Corner, C. E. TRITTON.
Ringmer, Sussex.

Objectors and punishment

SO now one has to read in *Peace News* the exciting adventures of Ian Dixon, while other COs are either in prison or awaiting such fate.

It is sad to note that there is still this irresponsibility in connection with COs. I am all in favour of the "I refuse conditions" attitude, but I deplore the idea that "While I'm waiting my fate I'll travel abroad."

We all know too well that to refuse conditions nearly always means a term of imprisonment. Therefore if we have the courage to refuse, then we should have the courage to stick to our guns and take the consequences.

Ian Dixon was one of the Pacifist Youth Action Group who received much admiration for their picketing of Wormwood Scrubs prison for seven days and nights. He has lost my admiration in not joining them. Come home Ian and face the music.

89 Victoria Rd., Hull. IRENE JACOBY.

The position as we understand it and put briefly is that Ian Dixon asked the Ministry to hurry up and gaol him so that he could go to India with ex-prisoner David Graham. The Ministry did not hurry so Ian decided he would have his "period of rest" on arriving home in about two years' time. It is unlikely that Ian Dixon, hitch-hiking to India and last reported in Italy, will see this issue of *Peace News* for some weeks.—Ed.

THE WORLD CAN LIVE

in the other, but both are acting legally. "As long as English law permits it, and as long as English government sanctions it, any violation of Wales by an alien body is fully legal and constitutional."

"For Wales is a part of England, and English law prevails here. There is a Welsh nation, of course, but it exists only as a cultural, social community. Politically, it does not exist."

"It is more than a geographical expression, but it has no political expression. Sometimes it casts its shadow on the political scene, but never more than a shadow."

"If Wales had a political existence, actions of this kind would be unthinkable."

WITHOUT FREEDOM

After citing the differences between individual freedom and national freedom, Mr. Evans declared:

"Not only has Wales no freedom: she counts for nothing in English politics. This is true wherever there is a clear Welsh point of view towards an issue. It does not deflect government policy by one hair's breadth."

"Three weeks ago we were faced with the prospect of war. There might have been war, and that for a reason that the Welsh people would utterly reject as an occasion for the use of armed violence."

"Yet had there been war, Wales would have been in it, her attitude notwithstanding, and Welsh lads would have killed and been killed. Her opposition would have counted for as little as it did in the case of military conscription."

"Whether it be war on account of a water-way in another country or whether it be the decision of an English corporation to take water and territory in Wales—the Welsh are not consulted."

"They do not count, because they are a nation without a government, without status, without political institutions, without authority, without responsibility, without freedom."

A BEACON TO GUIDE

Alderman Evans warned of the power of the forces against those who would resist the seizure of the valley.

"The flash of Liverpool's decision for Tryweryn illuminates the shame of our nation's situation. The issue will go to Parliament, where the Welsh will be free to spend large sums on defence, but despite this Parliament may discover Liverpool's wish for cheap water from Wales to be reasonable and acceptable."

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SHEFFIELD : 2.30 p.m.; Channing Hall, Surrey St. Bax Nomvete, M.A., Gene Sharp, M.A., Tom Wardle, Lay Pastor, Unitarian Church. "The Colour Bar." Chair, Dr. S. P. Bhatai, Union for Social Service, Unitarians.

WANSTEAD : 2.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Volunteers for PN selling campaign. Peace News, Peace Pledge Union.

valley.

A motion expressing "our opposition to the granting of permission to the Liverpool Corporation to take possession of Cwm Tryweryn and to drown it to make a reservoir," was enthusiastically commended to read "We of the Plaid Cymru Conference will not allow the Liverpool Corporation to take possession of Cwm Tryweryn . . ."

The conference, with a total registration of about 500, and a high percentage of young people, was vitally concerned with what methods or resistance could be used to preserve the valley for Wales.

Plaid Cymru is pledged to the use of non-violent methods—both constitutional action and non-violent direct action, when necessary extra-legal.

The defence of the Tryweryn Valley will require all the ingenuity, courage and knowledge of non-violence which can be mustered.

What can survive a war?

FROM PAGE FOUR

gospel was meant for people in exactly their predicament." Perhaps, *Errarum est humanum* covers a multitude of sins. But where do you draw the line?

How do you decide which private immoralities are permitted when they are done to benefit the State, the "Cause," or to bring "victory"?

And how do you assess the moral value of an institution which does everything it can to hide from the individual the fact that he ceases to be even human unless he faces this decision? War, and the war-making State are such institutions.

We are beginning to suspect that pacifism is feared in some quarters, and hated in others, not because it seems to threaten defeat, or subservience to an aggressor, but because it postulates, by implication, the unimportance of authoritative institutions.

Ultimately, pacifism is the advocacy of life as an individual and a wholly private faith—and all the other values which can survive a war.

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The International Voluntary Service for Peace, 19 Pembridge Villas, London, W.11, will gladly pass on news of David Hoggett to enquirers who are asked not to write to the hospital.

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COVENTRY : 8 p.m.; Sibree Hall, Rev. Michael Scott, "Afric Today," Carpenter.

LONDON, W.C.2 : Kingsway Hall, Kingsway. AGM of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, preceded by a service of Holy Communion at St. Martin-in-the-Fields at 11 a.m., when Canon Scruton, Vice-Chairman of the Fellowship will preach, and Canon C. F. Harman will be the celebrant. APF.

Sunday, October 21

LONDON, W.1 : 3.30 p.m.; King's Weight House Church, Binney St. (nr. Bond St. stn.). Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse, Rev. E. F. Carpenter, M.A., Ph.D., "Humility." PPU Religion Commission.

Monday, October 22

WALSALL : 7.30 p.m.; YWCA (Opp. Public Library). Film, "Children of Hiroshima."

and remember, and pay tribute to the devoted lives led by some we knew.

I renounced war mainly because of a sense of burning indignation against those who wage war and delude the people, a very crude emotion no doubt, but one that started me on the road to pacifism.

My husband tells me that, as a young man, he felt the same and became a CO, not through any strong non-violent or religious views, but because he did not intend to be used to do the dirty work of those in authority.

So I agree with Miss Morrison (PN August 3). We need more active workers for pacifism. All the good constructive work that is being done will have been utterly in vain if we have another war.

FREDA COLLINS.

5 Esplanade, Liverpool, 22.

TRUE, the disciples preached the Gospel.

Actually, we gather they just couldn't keep silent. They fairly exploded with their Good News. But on closer examination of the accounts we find related, "They preached Christ," and this was what gave their message that vital spark.

Mrs. Greenfield comments that they should be our example as our messages are essentially the same and I agree with her. Then why don't we pacifists use their technique?

They concerned themselves chiefly with helping and healing individuals. These folk also "exploded" with the Good News to their friends and an irrepressible snowball movement was started. For the Christian telling his Gospel it is not a matter of "Do as I say" but "Come, where I am."

Did the disciples themselves, I wonder, ever fret about spreading the message? The people who were helped and healed gladly contributed thank-offerings to the common treasury so raising of funds was no headache.

These facts reveal the weakness in the pacifist movement as compared with other spiritual movements in our time. In these movements people are helped concurrently with the message being declared. So the spread of the message and raising of money are actually only by-products.

In the pacifist movement today haven't they become the be-all and end-all?

I believe pacifism has a spiritual application for us all, whatever creed we own or disown. If even a small, but prominent, space in our paper could be given weekly to some literature of spiritual content, applicable to pacifism, it would be a move in the right direction, of helping us to strengthen our spiritual roots.

When roots grow strong the visible growth cannot help but follow suit. The "visible

Objectors and punishment

SO now one has to read in Peace News the exciting adventures of Ian Dixon, while other COs are either in prison or awaiting such fate.

It is sad to note that there is still this irresponsibility in connection with COs. I am all in favour of the "I refuse conditions" attitude, but I deplore the idea that "While I'm waiting my fate I'll travel abroad."

We all know too well that to refuse conditions nearly always means a term of imprisonment. Therefore if we have the courage to refuse, then we should have the courage to stick to our guns and take the consequences.

Ian Dixon was one of the Pacifist Youth Action Group who received much admiration for their picketing of Wormwood Scrubs prison for seven days and nights. He has lost my admiration in not joining them. Come home Ian and face the music.

89 Victoria Rd., Hull. **IRENE JACOBY.**

The position as we understand it and put briefly is that Ian Dixon asked the Ministry to hurry up and gaoil him so that he could go to India with ex-prisoner David Graham. The Ministry did not hurry so Ian decided he would have his "period of rest" on arriving home in about two years' time. It is unlikely that Ian Dixon, hitch-hiking to India and last reported in Italy, will see this issue of Peace News for some week.—Ed.

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WEMBLEY: 7.30 p.m.; St. John's Hall, Crawford Avenue. "Children of Hiroshima" film. FoR.

Sunday, October 14

LONDON, S.E.6: 8 p.m.; St. Dunstan's Hall, Brookeshow Rd., Bellingham. Minnie Pallister, "Is Pacifism practical?" Chair, Rev. A. D. Bailey, APF, FoR, PPU.

Monday, October 15

CHATHAM: 7.30 p.m.; St. Paul's Ch. Hall, Film: "Children of Hiroshima," FoR and UNA.

Every week!

SATURDAYS

LIVERPOOL: 7.45 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air mtg. Liverpool and District Peace Board.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 19 Pembridge Villas, W.11.

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

MONDAYS

SHIPLEY: 7.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Maud Simcox, "World Citizens at Cardiff." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Donald Lord, "How I became a Pacifist". Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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HOUNSLOW: 7.45 p.m.; Hounslow Congregational Hall, Douglas Rd. "Children of Hiroshima" film. FoR.

Tuesday, October 16

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m.; Community Ho., Clyde St., C.1., Wm. Marwick, M.A. "Economic Implications of Disarmament." Glasgow Branch WILPF.

Wednesday, October 17

KIDBROOK: 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. "Egypt Today." An Egyptian doctor on conditions in August, 1956. Discussion. Fellowship Party.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1-2 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Edith Adlam, "Status of women seminar on the equality of women in the Soviet Union". WILPF.

Thursday, October 18

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Maud Simcox, "World Citizens at Cardiff." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Donald Lord, "How I became a Pacifist". Pacifist Youth Action Group.

Friday, October 19

LONDON, W.C.1: 7 p.m.; Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. Gene Sharp, M.A. Second in a series of 8 consecutive lectures. "The social philosophy and political strategy of M. K. Gandhi—I." The Third Way and PYAG.

STRATFORD - ON - AVON: 7.30 p.m.; Town Hall, Sheep St. Programme of films on "Practical Peacemaking". Adm. free. FoR.

Saturday, October 20

LIVERPOOL: 3-6 p.m.; Hope Street Ch. Hall (next to Philharmonic Hall). Bring-and-Buy Sale (gifts welcomed); children's dancing display. Teas 1s, 3d. All welcome. Proceeds to Peace News. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

No meeting October 11.

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MEETINGS

CHILDBIRTH WITHOUT FEAR. Dr. Grantly Dick Read, Monday, October 15. 7.30 p.m.; Caxton Hall, Westminster, London Natural Health Society. 2s. 6d.

ACCOMMODATION

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FLIMES

YUGOSLAV Films from Edinburgh Festival at Hammer Theatre, Wardour St. at 6.30 p.m., Oct. 17. Send S.A. envelope for free tickets. Hon. Sec. British-Yugoslav Socy., 57a Queen's Ct., W.2.

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UPRIGHT piano by Wernam. Beautiful tone, £20. Barnes, 4 Grange Drive, Bridgewater.

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QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

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INSURANCES ARRANGED. Motor, fire, life, accident. Apply Eric C. Marshall, 34 Studland Rd., Hall Green, Birmingham, 28. Springfield 3187.

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PLAN FOR ARAB UNION

Cairo's Semiramis Hotel by the European reporters, but from Syria, which for decades has been the hotbed of Arab nationalism.

The nationalisation of Suez, of course, has given an impetus to the drive for unity. Yet it should not be overlooked that it was over a month before the Suez nationalisation took place that the Syrian Chamber of Deputies unanimously approved a resolution moved by the Socialist Foreign Minister, Salah Bitar, recommending immediate negotiations with Egypt for a union of Syria and Egypt.

What Bitar had recommended in the Chamber was exactly what his two comrades, the Paris educated, soft speaking, philosophical minded Michael Aflak, and the fist-flinging trade union boss Akram Hourani had been advocating in public as the first item on the political plank of the Al-Bath (Resurrection) Socialist Party.

The Bathists, Aflak told me, see in the unity move the beginning of an Arab renaissance, a new kind of Arabism that would go beyond Islam bringing new meaning to the life of the backward Arabs. "The Bath wants to do," asserted Bitar, the Foreign Minister, "what Gandhi did for India."

Bath Socialists

But unity is also considered a tactical move, and as Hourani explained to me, the unity would strengthen the Arabs, consequently weaken the hold of the Western imperialists, and subsequently, with the West removed from the Middle Eastern political and economic arena, enable the Arabs and the Israelis to come to terms with each other.

"We shall ask Israel," said Aflak, "to join us, and to agree to lose as much sovereignty as any Arab State would lose. And in addition we would promise to the world Jewry a spiritual symbol in Jerusalem, such as the Vatican promises to Catholics the world over."

And he was careful to point out that this did not mean "unrestricted immigration of the Jews" to the Middle East.

The Bath is extremely powerful in Syria, a little less so in Jordan, whereas in Iraq and Lebanon it runs a poor second to Iraq's National Democratic Congress and Lebanon's Progressive Socialist Party. But its intellectual impact is widely felt.

It is perhaps the only party in the Middle East that has a political programme with ideological foundations, with the result that the younger generation in all the Arab countries is with it.

In the present government of Syria its two representatives control the portfolios of foreign affairs and economic affairs. Akram Hourani, the first cousin of the dictator Shishakly, in

He feels that an Arab Union would be predominantly Islamic in its character and he has fears that national minorities in such a union might well be relegated to a second-class citizenry.

It can hardly be denied that Jounblatt's criticism has some merit and some sting. A large section of the Orthodox Christians of Lebanon have similar doubts.

Reasons for union

However, one of the most pleasing paradoxes of Lebanese politics is that it is the Christian leadership which is throwing its weight behind the Bath proposals.

The Lebanese representative to the drafting committee, Edmund Rabbath, Beirut's famous lawyer; Dr. Emmanuel Yunes, a former professor of oriental studies, and a leader of the Maronite Community; Gibran Mejdalan and Clovis Maksoud, the leaders of the Socialist Rebel group, are all Christians.

So is Michael Aflak, the Secretary General of the Bath Socialist Party, a party whose membership is 95 per cent Moslem.

According to Mejdalan and Maksoud, the Arab Unity would do precisely the opposite of what Jounblatt thinks.

It would be only through Arab unity, they argue, that social and economic reforms inside Egypt could be carried out smoothly, and they think it is conceivable that the Bath socialists may well ask the normalisation of political life inside Egypt as the price for Syrio-Egyptian unity.

They claim that it would be only when the idea of the Arab Union has made sufficient progress that the pressure of the liberals and the radicals on the autocratic regimes of countries like Saudi Arabia and Yemen would make any headway.

To them the Suez dispute is evidence enough to prove that the Arabs have to be united to resist the threat of Western military aggression.

They are convinced that the economic development projects of the Middle East would have to be locally financed, and such financing would not take place until the economies of the rich and the poor countries are combined together.

Draft constitution

The Draft Constitution of the Arab Union, which is reproduced on page five, and which forms the basis of the Syrian and Egyptian negotiations for the unity of the two States was drafted by a committee appointed by the Arab Graduates Association.

The headquarters of the Association are located in Beirut, and the Association has the first cousin of the dictator Shishakly, in

Wars will cease when...

I always enjoy your article in Peace News and I did this week until I came to the sentence: "neither can pacifists be expected to produce a blue-print for the way out of a situation based on military-strength politics." It is emphatically the business of pacifists to produce blue-prints...

—Letter from a correspondent, September 22, 1956.

When the workers defy the call of Governments to murder each other, there will be no more war.

—Keir Hardie.

I HAVE been taken to task by an old friend in the Peace Pledge Union for saying pacifists could not be expected to produce blue-prints for the solution of military power problems, but I have to admit that I am unrepentant.

Pacifism is a principle, not a method of performing miracles to save Statesmen from the consequences of their creeds and policies.

There is often a confusion between the two words "policy" and "blue-print." A policy is based upon a principle; a blue-print fills out the details of carrying out that principle.

If the policy is a pacifist one, such as unilateral disarmament, then obviously pacifists must work out their own blue-print for turning swords into ploughshares, and dealing with would-be aggressors.

But if the policy is a military one then the main work for the pacifist is to advocate, and crusade for a different policy than the one that has brought about the situation in which war was the only answer.

★
Pacifists are frequently asked what they would have done to prevent World War II in 1939, and the questioners always expect a completely cut and dried plan, whereas, the fact is, that Hitler and his regime derived almost directly from World War I, the subsequent policies of retaliation, and the eventual

SUEZ

□ FROM
PAGE ONE

and if France and Britain were to make that the excuse for "marching in," they would have the whole Arab world united against them in fierce resistance.

One does not have to be an Arab to be able to see that the Middle-East would look on any such measures as clear evidence of the wish to re-establish the old colonial regime.

It seems reasonably certain in view of American views (and possibly interests) that the outcome of the Security Council debate will make it near-to-impossible for France and our own Government to maintain their hitherto announced attitudes in full measure.

But they show no signs, so far, of being ready to modify their demands in the very least, and their determination to ram the terms on which the London Conference

manoeuvring for strength in the power politics game.

If people support such policies, and most of them do willy-nilly, they are faced eventually with the inevitable consequences for which there can be no blue-print to effect a rescue.

Pacifists could do nothing in 1939 but themselves refuse to fight, or, as far as is humanly possible, refuse to take part in the war; they could not at that moment in time present to the world a blue-print for a way out of the disaster.

In much the same way in the Suez crisis, there is only one policy for pacifists to advocate and that is NO WAR.

Strangely, and perhaps unexpectedly, a few days after Nasser's "coup," pacifism became almost completely relevant, for the public, usually so quiescent, were also saying "NO WAR."

For all the troop movements, war-like pronouncements, and general filibustering of the Government spokesmen, in the end the Prime Minister was forced to retreat from his position as leader of the forces against Egypt, for no other reason than the strength of public opinion against war.

The public did not lay down any blue-prints; on the contrary, it simply let it be known that war was not in their view the answer and they would not support it. The result is that war in Egypt now seems very unlikely, whereas a few weeks ago nothing seemed more probable.

This was not the result of the Labour opposition's belated pressure for a United Nations approach, but simply the ordinary commonsense of the ordinary man and woman in Britain who, while laying down no blue-print, said quite simply and very emphatically, that they were against having a war.

★
Pacifists could not in 1939, and they cannot now, wave a wand and convert rulers into pacifists; the Labour Party is no longer pacifist, and Mr. Gaitskell is only saying that his Party will not support a war unless, or until, the United Nations gives such a war its blessing.

This has nothing to do with pacifism.

So long as pacifists allow themselves to be deflected from their main task of advocating pacifism as a policy, into trying to teach militarists how to get out of the logical con-

But unity is also considered a tactical move, and as Hourani explained to me, the unity would strengthen the Arabs, consequently weaken the hold of the Western imperialists, and subsequently, with the West removed from the Middle Eastern political and economic arena, enable the Arabs and the Israelis to come to terms with each other.

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In the last twenty years there has not been a single *coup d'état* in Syria in which Hourani did not have a hand!

Michael Aflak commands the allegiance of the intelligentsia and the students and is a very frequent lecturer at the Syrian University in Damascus.

Nasser's advisors

In Jordan, the Bath leaders, Abdullah Rimawi and Abdullah Nawas, have a large electoral following among the Jordanians living east of the Jordan River.

In Iraq, on the question of Arab Unity, the National Democratic Congress, a recent amalgam of the former National Democratic Congress of Kamil Chederjy and Hussain Jamil, and of the Istiqlal (Independence) Party of Faik Sammari and Sadik Shanshal, has accepted the ideological leadership of the Bath.

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It would be only through Arab unity, they argue, that social and economic reforms inside Egypt could be carried out smoothly, and they think it is conceivable that the Bath socialists may well ask the normalisation of political life inside Egypt as the price for Syro-Egyptian unity.

They claim that it would be only when the idea of the Arab Union has made sufficient progress that the pressure of the liberals and the radicals on the autocratic regimes of countries like Saudi Arabia and Yemen would make any headway.

To them the Suez dispute is evidence enough to prove that the Arabs have to be united to resist the threat of Western military aggression.

They are convinced that the economic development projects of the Middle East would have to be locally financed, and such financing would not take place until the economies of the rich and the poor countries are combined together.

Draft constitution

The Draft Constitution of the Arab Union, which is reproduced on page five, and which forms the basis of the Syrian and Egyptian negotiations for the unity of the two States was drafted by a committee appointed by the Arab Graduates Association.

The headquarters of the Association are located in Beirut, and the Association has the same kind of relationship with the Bath Socialist Party that the World Peace Council has with the International Communist movement.

The Drafting Committee met with King Hussein of Jordan a few months ago; Faik Sammari, Baghdad's leading lawyer, and a member of the Drafting Committee told me of the King's general agreement with the principles of the Constitution.

The constitution follows the American model. It promises a bicameral legislature, an executive, and an independent Supreme Court, all on the American pattern.

It reserves for federal action the fields of foreign affairs, national defence, communication, economic development, national banking, and the codification of laws. Oil revenues are to be regarded as federal revenues. The executive authority of the Union is to be exercised by a presidium of five members of equal rank.

The constitution is as vocal about compulsory military service—a most regrettable feature—as it is silent about the protection of the rights of the national minorities.

When Iraq revolts

Another weakness of the constitution lies in the fact that the first election to the House of Representatives "shall follow the electoral laws of the member States."

Since the future electoral laws would be framed by the first House, this procedure leaves much to be desired, for under this procedure there is a likelihood of "yes-men" filling the seats allotted to the despotic regimes. And such regimes abound in the Arab world.

According to the spokesmen of the Unity movement, compulsory military service is necessary for the Arabs for two reasons. One is the threat of the West, the other is the prospect of the Army becoming a social

the main work for the pacifist is to advocate, and crusade for a different policy than the one that has brought about the situation in which war was the only answer.

Pacifists are frequently asked what they would have done to prevent World War II in 1939, and the questioners always expect a completely cut and dried plan, whereas, the fact is, that Hitler and his regime derived almost directly from World War I, the subsequent policies of retaliation, and the eventual

SUEZ

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and if France and Britain were to make that the excuse for "marching in," they would have the whole Arab world united against them in fierce resistance.

One does not have to be an Arab to be able to see that the Middle-East would look on any such measures as clear evidence of the wish to re-establish the old colonial regime.

It seems reasonably certain in view of American views (and possibly interests) that the outcome of the Security Council debate will make it near-to-impossible for France and our own Government to maintain their hitherto announced attitudes in full measure.

But they show no signs, so far, of being ready to modify their demands in the very least, and their determination to ram the terms on which the London Conference decided down President Nasser's throat appears to be as firm as ever.

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None of them being a member of the Security Council, no vote is at stake; merely a presentation of their respective cases.

But if Israel is admitted it will prove impossible to keep the Arab countries out without arousing the fury of all Asia, and if all are admitted it will prove no easy task to keep the charges and counter-charges within the limits of the Canal issue.

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Emrys Hughes, MP, followed, and was given a warm welcome. He asked the Party to end its hypocrisy. The Labour Party started the arms programme; the Labour Party bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki; the Labour Party inter-

For all the troop movements, war-like pronouncements, and general filibustering of the Government spokesmen, in the end the Prime Minister was forced to retreat from his position as leader of the forces against Egypt, for no other reason than the strength of public opinion against war.

The public did not lay down any blue-prints; on the contrary, it simply let it be known that war was not in their view the answer and they would not support it. The result is that war in Egypt now seems very unlikely, whereas a few weeks ago nothing seemed more probable.

This was not the result of the Labour opposition's belated pressure for a United Nations approach, but simply the ordinary commonsense of the ordinary man and woman in Britain who, while laying down no blueprint, said quite simply and very emphatically, that they were against having a war.



Pacifists could not in 1939, and they cannot now, wave a wand and convert rulers into pacifists; the Labour Party is no longer pacifist, and Mr. Gaitskell is only saying that his Party will not support a war unless, or until, the United Nations gives such a war its blessing.

This has nothing to do with pacifism.

So long as pacifists allow themselves to be deflected from their main task of advocating pacifism as a policy, into trying to teach militarists how to get out of the logical consequences of their behaviour, there will be a wasteful expenditure of energy and strength.

Perhaps the time was never more opportune, for it is not often that the voice of public opinion is so clearly heard.

Keir Hardie was a simple working man, and he spoke simply, so that those he addressed could not fail to understand; he announced true pacifism when he said in effect: "Wars will cease when men refuse to fight."

IN PN NEXT WEEK

LACK of space has made it necessary to hold over a report of Professor Kathleen Lonsdale's speech to London students; Dr. Donald Soper's speech at the Labour Party Conference meeting organised by the Labour Peace Fellowship and reports of the recent meetings addressed by the Secretary of the War Resisters' International, Arlo Tatum.

Army officers and has a direct pipeline to Army funds.

In the last twenty years there has not been a single *coup d'état* in Syria in which Hourani did not have a hand!

Michael Affak commands the allegiance of the intelligentsia and the students and is a very frequent lecturer at the Syrian University in Damascus.

Nasser's advisors

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Opposition

The opposition to the Bath proposals comes from the right, because the right is emotionally linked with Baghdad in the current Baghdad-Cairo rivalry, while the Bath is behind Nasser.

Another person to oppose the Bath proposals is Kemal Joumblatt, the leader of the Socialist Party of Lebanon.

Joumblatt now in his thirties, made headlines in 1952, when with the support of the students and the masses of Beirut, he overthrew the Lebanese dictatorship in a bloodless *coup d'état*, put Camille Chamoun to power as the Republic's President, and himself retired to his hilly abode to study Hindu philosophy and to direct the organisation of Lebanon's Socialist Party.

Joumblatt thinks that the Arab Unity at this stage would only lead to an "aggressive nationalism" and this nationalism is likely to be directed against the West and Israel, instead of towards some creative ends.

"Egypt, in such a case, shall become the Prussia of the Middle East, and might cause war." Furthermore, he thinks, the diversity of the economic and political standards of the Arab peoples do not give any hope for unity being achieved in the near future.

Joumblatt is also worried about national minorities like the Christians, who form a majority in Lebanon, the Druz and the Kurds.

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Sober people like Affak, who are convinced that the coming order of mankind would be based on the Gandhian principles of non-violence, and the humanistic principle of mutual regulation of conduct, are convinced that the military in the Middle East has a progressive role to play, and "until we develop our non-violent traditions, we better keep our powder dry."

Arab Unity is not on the cards of the near future but the groundwork for it is being laid day by day.

Customs union between different States are being established just as passport requirements for crossing the frontiers are being removed. Proposals are afoot for a common currency. The defence arrangements between Syria, Jordan and Egypt depict quite a bit of unity.

The unity is being stalled by the plottings of Iraq's Nuri-es-Said regime, an Arab version of fascism.

But Nuri-es-Said is old, Arab nationalism is aflame, and Nasser (even inside Iraq) more popular than Britain's stoopigeons.

It should not come as a surprise to us if one fine morning we hear that the Iraqi Government instead of being run from the British Embassy in Baghdad is being run by the National Democratic Congress. And on that day the last stone in the foundation of an Arab Unity would have been laid.

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Emrys Hughes, MP, followed, and was given a warm welcome. He asked the Party to end its hypocrisy. The Labour Party started the arms programme; the Labour Party bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki; the Labour Party introduced peace-time conscription. The Tories were only imitating.

The Conference had declared against force in Suez; it must declare against it in all circumstances. Imperialism must end; we must begin to disarm unilaterally. We must give a lead to save the world.

Ted Rasey, 17-year-old Salisbury delegate, broke the procession of MPs with a brief but forceful speech. Without a note in front of him (and many delegates read every word they spoke) he declared that Socialists must talk with the Russian people. The choice was Dulles or the United Nations.

Attacking the Socialist International decision not to talk with the Communist Parties of Eastern Europe he asked, "what would we say if we were told by Russia we had to have Gollan in the government before they would talk to us."

He finished, "I would rather people on the platform choke eating their words than the people of the misery areas of the world starved!" (Loud applause.)

Sam Watson, for the National Executive, accepted the resolution on Germany and mild ones on disarmament and nuclear weapons. Konni Zilliacus's motion was defeated on a show of hands by about 3-2.

To be concluded next week